













The  
British Review  
And  
London Critical Journal  
VOL-20  
1822

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THE  
BRITISH REVIEW,  
AND  
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

DECEMBER, 1822.

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ART. XII.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Gloucester at the Third Visitation of that Diocese in the year 1822.* By Henry Ryder, DD. Bishop of Gloucester. Hatchard. London. 1822.

THIS is an address of a peculiar character, and which could be delivered by very few without something of absurdity attaching to it. The effect is always to a certain degree absurd, where men of unspiritual lives affect to lead others in the Christian walk; but the consistency of the Bishop of Gloucester may challenge the scrutiny of his hearers. His charge faithfully and fearlessly enumerates the obligations of the Gospel, and is altogether a conscientious statement of its practical truths. Turning out of the beaten road of doctrine and discipline, it seizes a height above human criticism, and shines afar with the reflected radiance of evangelical truth. There is nothing here to be found of the matter of which episcopal charges are wont to consist; but it is truly what a charge ought to be,—a serious and emphatic call upon the clergy to meditate upon the sacred trust and deep functional responsibility of their sacred profession. The design of a judge's charge to a jury is to impress on them a proper regard to the duties of the office they have to execute; and we have always understood a bishop's charge to the clergy of his diocese, to answer best the real purpose of its institution when it points most specifically to the duties of the pastoral office.

We must frankly state, having a charge upon our own consciences to state the truth, however disinclined to speak evil of dignities, that the tendency of episcopal Charges appears to

us to be in general replete with danger to our Church Establishment. It would seem from many of them that the duty of the pastoral clergyman consisted only in a hearty hatred of all manner of schism, and in giving the widest possible range to the application of the term. And, reasoning from the apparent spirit and objects of a part of these periodical lectures, we should, speaking with all deference, be tempted to say that, owing to the unhappy dominion of certain prejudices of education, no persons are so ignorant, not only of the state of the religious world, but of the specific interests and dangers of our ecclesiastical establishment, as some of its appointed guardians. It may be, it must be, that some of our clergy depart from the proper standard of doctrine; that some are in the habit of stating fundamental truths in terms too little guarded; that some are apt to spiritualize too vaguely, and to go too much at large into delicate points for safe application; that others are wanting in a sufficient knowledge of the human heart to guide their words with discretion; that the zeal of others may exceed their prudence; and it is undoubtedly true that these defects are hurtful to the cause of religion: but are they the only, or the more pressing, dangers to which our church is exposed? And can it be questioned by any man at all observant of the signs of the times, or of the prevailing state of our parishes,—can it fail to be seen by him who counts the number in any district of its real pastoral ministers, and estimates duly the importance to a neighbourhood of a diligent and conscientious parish priest, that the great danger to the Church at this moment arises more from the want of orthodoxy of life than of opinions in her ministers,—from the want of an embodied divinity, and a spirituality substantiated and condensed in a holy consistency of behaviour. Other evils there are, and other errors require the vigilance of our spiritual overseers; but against the invaders of her forms and doctrines, the Church has her natural and political bulwarks; against the heresy of inconsistency, against practical infidelity, against the betrayers of her character, against those who live down her dignity, and loosen the ligatures on which she depends for her hold on human opinion, she has no penal securities;—nothing but the faithfulness of those who superintend her discipline, dispense her patronage, and educate her ministers. It is at these points that our Zion is principally assailable; and it is her great misfortune that her natural protectors mistake the quarter to which their defensive efforts should be principally at this moment directed: leaving unguarded the passes through which destruction is on the point of entering, they please themselves with “marking her bulwarks and telling her towers,” and with

saying "we have a strong city," while their watchmen are asleep upon the walls.

The right reverend author of the above charge is not among the number of those entrusted with the care of the Church who have thus mistaken its interests and misapprehended its danger. To set before his clergy their proper business, and to present to them the most persuasive motives and commanding obligations to the due performance of it; to impress on them the necessity of guarding rather against themselves than others; to exhort them "to do the work of an evangelist," and thereby "to make full proof of their ministry," rather than to busy themselves "with unlearned questions which gender strife," and to touch their consciences with the alarming responsibility with which they are officially charged for the souls committed to them, is the apparent design of the address of this spiritual bishop to those to whom his peculiar right of admonishing extends. Speaking scripturally of this charge we should say it is distinguished for its spirituality: morally regarding it, we should say it is characterised by honesty and liberality: in a political view of it, we should designate it as marked by discretion and propriety; and to these commendations we will add, that it is as warm and affectionate in sentiment as it is dignified and pure in diction. It is just, in short, what an evangelical bishop should write, what a candid clergy should welcome, and what a Christian nation will, if sensible of its own best interests, applaud and ratify.

With respect to the reformation of this land, we look upon it that every thing is bound up in this simple aphorism,—*purify the state of the clergy*; and the great question to be answered concerning it is, where is the process to begin? On this subject the best philosophy is prayer: there is but one that giveth success; "every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." But, under God, the great ministration of man towards this incalculably important end is the right use of patronage. Here the stream receives its first salutary or poisonous infusion. That private persons, of whose estate this right constitutes a portion or appendage, should exercise it with a single view to their worldly gain or family advancement, is less surprising than that the same abuse should be committed by the guardians of the state, who by every appointment of a weak, or prejudiced, or indolent functionary to the service of the Church, lay whole districts barren in the territory of Christ, and wither, as it were, the growth of grace in the country. The truth is, that every patron, from the king downwards, holds his power as a trust from God, and in every exercise of it is doing an act more extensively affecting



the interests of man and the glory of the Creator than any of which a human being can, in any circumstances, be capable. But the higher the patronage, the more destructive is the abuse. To send overseers into the vineyard of God who care not whether it brings forth "grapes" or "wild grapes,"—who, with the frost of their academical learning and constringent orthodoxy, interdict and starve the soil which they were deputed to cultivate; who conceive their own dignity to consist in doing nothing themselves, and checking all extra-doings in others,—who, mistake all stir in the work of the Gospel for extravagance or innovation, and rest satisfied with a clergy, however loose or Laodicean in character, so long as the letter of the rubric remains inviolate;—to commit to such persons the difficult, and dangerous, and onerous management of our Christian Protestant Establishment in this its present conjuncture, is to frustrate the dispensations of Divine mercy through the Gospel, by the best contrived human means, and upon the widest scale of operation, which the great spiritual enemy of man has had it in his power to suggest.

Nations have owed their greatest misfortunes, and most sanguinary revolutions, to the insensibility of their rulers to the signs and indications of the times. Our own civil wars, and the disastrous occurrences which have disfigured the annals of the last thirty years in France, have arisen from the same want of tact in those to whom the public affairs have been entrusted, for discerning the tendency and determination of public opinion and national character. If there be any man in the country that sees nothing in all this schooling of the multitude, this cheapening of instruction, this intellectual levelling,—nothing in the revolutionary movements of the day, which have shaken together the elements of society,—nor in the vast and augmented power of the press, to render the lower orders critical observers of their superiors, and those that hear close examiners into the pretensions of those that instruct,—all that we can say is, that the most obvious and striking appearances in the moral world do indeed address him to no purpose; but, if those who stand on a high point of observation discern nothing in the signs or aspects of things that imposes new duties, and new motives to circumspection on those that govern, and on those that teach, one hardly knows what name to bestow upon a fatuity so fatal in its consequences.

It is the characteristic folly of men in power to take counsel, as Lord Bacon expresses it, from the past rather than from the time to come. This is natural, and may be excusable under other circumstances than those of the present period in this country; but what apology can be found for the inconsistency

of a government that adopts or promotes every suggestion of ingenuity for expanding the intelligence of the common people, and, at the same time, acts as if nothing were needful to be done towards giving to the upper ranks a proportionate elevation, and to maintain the civil arrangements of society in a just correspondence with its moral relations? Putting, for a moment, all higher obligations out of sight, and having regard only to this world and its passing interests, can any thing be more apparent than the disturbing tendency of a plan of national improvement which leaves the superior portion of the community entirely out of contemplation. And yet such is the defective character of our grand modern apparatus of education. No man who has his eyes open can deny that, at this juncture, the children of the poor are, in the principles of morality and religion, under a more efficacious and specific discipline than those of the rich. We think that discipline less sound than it might be, and we have given our reasons for that opinion; but whatever may be its success or failure in reference to its professed object, the result to which it tends, with an ominous certainty, is this:—that those who occupy the superior places in society will have thereby erected against themselves a tribunal before which their characters must come, and where the judgment that will pass upon them will neither be softened by the feelings of fellowship, nor the sense of a common infirmity, but will ground itself upon the apparent reasonableness of expecting much from those to whom much has been given. This is no argument for withholding instruction from the poor, but it is a great argument for consistency of plan and purpose—for rendering our national education truly national by extending the solid parts of it to the rich—for a new spirit of moral and religious discipline in our universities—for a more specific and functional preparation of our clergy, and, above all, for a more conscientious exercise of the patronage of the Church. Human intelligence must travel much in the night; and, even along the high road of national improvement, there are pits and precipices which require the stationary public lights to be kept bright and burning, or the multitude may be easily lost,—bewildered, perhaps, by their own lanthorns, and the delusive glare of feeble substitutes.

The Bishop of Gloucester's charge now before us, points towards that right disposition of things in which alone the spiritual and moral education of the people can be hopefully constituted. We see in it a proof of the good effect of patronage discreetly exercised at that source from which, if the stream emanates impure, no medicaments, which art can supply, can

restore its salubrity. From a good beginning, things usually proceed in a right consecutive order. The agency, by which the author of this charge expects to produce the good he contemplates, is that of the clergy of his diocese; and to impress upon them an effectual feeling of the real duties of their responsible vocation is his direct and simple purpose. He appears to us to proceed upon the conviction that the natural course of instruction is downwards, and that, to render his diocese a "well-watered garden," his episcopal care must be primarily directed to his clergy as the channels through which the living streams are to be transmitted and diffused abroad. It is the great error of our day to neglect this natural course, and appointed order, for the just and efficient flow of national instruction. He who, having the patronage of a benefice in our Church, consults the safety of his own soul by setting over the souls of others a minister answering to the model sketched out in the charge now on our table, does more for the public happiness and improvement than by establishing a score of national schools, useful as, under good conduct, such institutions undoubtedly are. Parish schools, we are disposed to think, produce but little substantial benefit, unless under the superintending genius of a virtuous and zealous parish priest. We dare affirm that the success, under Providence, of the present widely extended plan of education depends upon the character of our parochial ministry. Too much is trusted to machinery. Too little is thought of the power of sympathy, and the force of example. It is the age of complex ingenuity and operose contrivance. This character and habit extends to morals as well as physics. The whole business is apt to be treated as a matter of dry calculation, as if the soul were obedient to the impulse of a ten-horse power. Considering, as we do, that what the poor are most interested in learning is precisely that which the parish clergyman is bound by his allegiance to God to teach them—the learning of the scriptures, and the application of Christian precepts, we can scarcely be persuaded that any knowledge by which society will be benefited, and the moral order of the world advanced, will be the result of the fairest looking scheme of public instruction, where the whole air of the institution is poisoned by the example of its very patrons and supporters, and the Church despoiled of its attraction and influence by the drowsiness or dissipation of the minister.

On the solemn business of the soul we cannot permit ourselves to be merry; but were it possible to be so on such a subject, one would be disposed to laugh at the ludicrous in-

consistency of men who subscribe to national and Sunday schools, and profess an earnestness in the cause of public instruction, while in the most public way they manifest their contempt of that day, with the holy observance of which the prosperity, and when we say the prosperity, we mean the moral grandeur and stability, of the nation, is absolutely bound up and identified. It will be to little purpose that the poor are taught to read, if they are thereby qualified to read in the newspapers, of audiences, journeys, political dinners, and parties, and those numerous other practices among the great, which are breaking in more and more upon the integrity of the Sabbath. There are two ways in which, peradventure, this inconsistency may be removed;—the higher sort may obey the call to greater circumspection, which they have imposed upon themselves by all this teaching of the poor; and this we will denominate the conservative mode of cure; or it may be, that out of the lessons given to the poor, all that leaven of religion may be extracted which may seem to pledge their superiors to a more respectful observance of its ordinances; and this is the radical cure.

Already this latter mode appears to be in a fair way of adoption, and we have lately heard of several *Sunday* schools in which the children are taught to write on that day. Thus the tides of business and recreation flow in upon the devoted Sabbath, and wash away by degrees the shores of its sacred territory. On the narrow insulated portion that remains to God, his sanctuary still stands, and within its awful precinct his faithful worshippers are still assembled, to keep their morning and evening watch: they have their terrors for the fate of the visible church, but they know that there is an invisible Zion whose "gates the Lord loveth too well" to suffer them to be carried away by this or any other flood; whose "foundations are upon the holy hills;" and for themselves they are comforted by the assurance that he that delivered Israel can make a wall for them on the right hand and on the left, and "bring his own again, as he did sometime from the deep of the sea."

To ward off those dangers which surround the sanctuary of our National Religion, the parochial clergy of the diocese of Gloucester are by the above excellent charge summoned and excited. It is a stirring address to their principles, to their consciences, and to their feelings of Christian honour, as volunteers in the cause of God; enforced by the character of the man that makes it, and the times in which it is made. It is a charge also, as we read it, not so intended certainly, but so in its bearing and ex-

ample, to the bench of bishops, and to all the dignitaries, lay, as well as ecclesiastical, of the land: it suggests, by its example to bishops and archbishops, the sort of interference which they should exercise, and the language they should hold to their diocesan and provincial clergy: it suggests, most undesignedly indeed, to our high public functionaries, the model of the sort of bishop which the state should give to the Church; and it suggests, by no very obscure inference, what should be the recommendation to the public and private patron in the exercise they make of their most tremendous trust and hazardous authority. "There is a charge," says Dr. Hans Hamilton, in one of his two excellent Act Sermons, preached before the University of Dublin, on Sunday the 1st of February, 1818, appointed to be delivered by the bishop to the priests on this occasion, (ordination) "which is the most serious, solemn, and weighty that can well be imagined or devised,—a charge which well deserves to be constantly imprinted on the memory and mind of every one to whom it has been delivered." After setting before them the high dignity, and weighty office and charge to which they are called, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord, to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family, he warns them of the greatness of the fault, and the horrible punishment that will ensue, if the Church, or any member thereof, take any hurt or hindrance by reason of their negligence, "to consider the end of their ministry towards the children of God, and that they see that they never cease their labour, their care, and diligence, until they have done all that lieth in them, according to their bounden duty, to bring all such as are, or shall be, committed to their charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among them for error in religion, or viciousness of life—to beware that neither they themselves offend, nor be occasion that others offend—and seeing that they cannot, by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same, they are called upon to consider how studious they ought to be, in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners both of themselves, and of them that specially pertain unto them, according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this self-same cause, how they ought to forsake and set aside, as much as they may, all worldly cares and studies—that they will, as much as lieth in them, apply themselves wholly to this one thing, and draw all their cares and studies this way."

Such is the view which, in our well-framed offices, is taken of the sort of life our clergy are professionally called upon to lead, and we have quoted the passage as a justification, as far as human precedent can be vouched as such, of the plan and purpose of the Bishop of Gloucester's charge. As a testimony of the same kind, we will place before our clerical readers a passage from Archbishop Secker, which cannot, indeed, be new to them, but of which it may not be amiss to remind them. "To these excellent offices (alluding to that above quoted, among others), we must all of us cheerfully apply ourselves, each in such degree as his station requires. If they do require pains—if they do take up time—if they are inconsistent with agreeable amusements, and even interrupt useful studies of other kinds, yet this is the business which we have solemnly chosen, and the vows of God are upon us: it is the most important and the most honourable, it ought to be the most delightful, too, of all employments; and therefore we have every reason not to seek the means of evading our duty, but of fulfilling it; and each to take the oversight of the flock of God committed to him, not by constraint, but willingly; for if we only just do what we can be punished by our superiors for neglecting, we must neither expect success nor reward." (Archb. Secker's Charges in Watson's Tracts, vol. vi. p. 10.)

Precisely in the spirit of these precedents, the Bishop of Gloucester addresses his clergy in the charge before us. Having on the first of two former occasions dilated upon the more general duties of their profession; and in a second having, with more particularity, traced the less ostensible, but scarcely less important functions which arise out of the minister's pastoral communications with his flock, he proceeds in this present discourse to "explain and urge upon his clergy the indirect teaching by example, by (as he feelingly and forcibly himself expresses his object) the elevating standard, and the attractive influence of a life consistent with the precepts, and congenial with the doctrine which they preach." We cannot think that this admonitory and explicit interference with the conduct, manners, and pursuits of his clergy, has hitherto been enough regarded as the duty of the diocesan. It is not, as we began with remarking, in the power of every bishop to take this spiritual ground with characteristic propriety; it is not every bishop whose fear of God places him sufficiently above the fear of man to dispose and qualify him for insisting upon duties of which it is an offence to human pride to be reminded; and the heads of not a few of our bishops are so full of the chimeras and spectres of sectarism,

schism, Calvinism, and other terrific forms and omens of disastrous import to our Church, as to be totally blind to the real, sensible, substantial, instant peril, in which it is placed by the unspiritual and unholy lives of its authorised ministers. The charge under review has been composed with a clear perception of these dangers. It is neither accusatory, nor exculpatory, nor laudatory, but it exhibits with great distinctness the line of conduct which not only the transcendent responsibilities of his undertaking, but a certain correctness of moral taste, exacts of a minister of the Church of England. A day passed at any country village without particular inquiry will usually let the stranger, if he is an observer of these things, into the secret of the real state of the cure. If the pastoral function is in abeyance, the misery, pollution, and blasphemy, which meet him at every turn, will speedily inform him of that fact; and, how well the sworn dispenser of God's word and sacraments, hunts, and shoots, and dances, and denounces Methodism, and approves his orthodoxy to his diocesan by his holy hatred of the Bible Society, and the evangelical clergy, will usually appear inscribed but too legibly in the characters and countenances of his straggling and repining flock.

Against these occurrences and consequences the Bishop of Gloucester opposes the just admonitions of his timely and honest address to his clergy. He seems to see that the real danger which overhangs the Church has been much and long mistaken. He seems to see that while infidel combinations are daily strengthening themselves without, a right spirit, a pure courage, and an union of hearts, is much wanted within. He feels the immense importance of example at such a juncture; and well knowing how much, in this day of profane obloquy, the strength of our sacred Establishment consists in its character, to sustain and establish that character, and to raise its standard, and to give it consistency, and a due impression of its spiritual vocation, is the honourable, and manly, and faithful design of his pious and judicious address. His aim is to shape the course of the parish minister in the career of his *domestic* Christianity; and in doing this he affords indirectly a guide to the true use of patronage, and suggests incidentally the sketch of a complete scheme of national reform—a scheme too quiet for the patriot, too unpretending for the projector, and too practical for the theorist, but one which, if carried into execution, would be found to be instantaneously operative, would do its work without noise, would cost nothing, hazard nothing, displace nothing, accomplish every thing.

There are several circumstances by which the present time

is characterised and distinguished, that stamp a peculiar value on the Bishop of Gloucester's address at this moment. The deep cry of spiritual want has at length moved the breasts of our governors. The claims of our Established Church have been recognised. The representation so faithfully made by the publication of a pious and zealous clergyman of the scanty provision of church room within the pale of the Establishment, has awakened the legislature to the exigency of the case. The area of God's household is enlarged, and the religious character of the country is thereby greatly redeemed. This order of things is indeed excellent, if the British clergy regard it as multiplying the calls upon their zeal, as extending the sphere of their opportunities, and summoning with the voice of trumpets from the new edifices of our augmented Zion, the champions of her holy cause. If, however, the clergy feel no new impulse from this extension of their range of possible usefulness, the acquisitions of the Church may be large in brick, and mortar, and masonry, in consecrated space, and in nominal and numerical strength, but her spiritual bounds will remain the same. It is in the power of the clergy to render this addition of space a mere expansion of weakness, an increase only in measure and quantity, or to make it a conquest of territory, of which it may be said, as of the land which He once gave to his worshippers, "that the Lord God careth for it."

Another circumstance peculiar to the present time, which has rendered more critically important the duties of the clerical profession, is the universal spread of education through the land. We have already alluded to the manner in which this reacts upon the upper region of society, and puts the men of wealth and station upon their best behaviour. But to the clergy of the land it proffers a holy challenge. A new and strange moral power is set loose. The multitude, and the mass, is organised into functional, cogitative, and emphatic life. Their eyes are full upon their teachers, and the parish priest is as minutely observed in his walk through the week, as in the desk and in the pulpit. Even where the education of the poor may be of a sort not to meliorate the heart, it tends to quicken the discernment; it teaches them to discover the mote in a brother's eye, though it may not instruct them to perceive the beam in their own: without being rendered practically purer themselves, or improved in the essentials of propriety, they may be advanced in the theory of morals, and made shrewder judges of decorum in others: without any new infusion of sentiment or principle, they may be better qualified for the task of exposing their superiors, and marking their inconsistencies of con-



duct. The Church cannot, under these circumstances, afford any expense of character. It must trust to its living strength for its security, not to its prescriptive grandeur. Nor will mere caution suffice. Its safety lies in its action as well as in its circumspection. Knowledge is power, and the power which it creates is a busy fiery principle, which when not pre-engaged on the side of utility, lends itself to mischief, decomposition, and disorder. And precisely in this moral predicament stands this united kingdom. Destruction hovers over all our establishments, to be averted only by a diligent and honest use of such means of influencing opinion, and giving it a conservative direction, as are vested in individuals by the constitution, whether in politic function, or moral capacity. Patriotism, philosophy, philanthropy, liberality, and other broad and munificent principles, have combined with Christian benevolence to give to the poorer classes of society the noble present of education:—to make the bounty a blessing is the proper work of the clergy. Their province it is, and in the view which we take of it, a new one, trenching still further upon that leisure, on the misemployment of which the Bishop of Gloucester has laid his gentle interdict, to take care that the knowledge which we are thus diffusing may not turn to that which “exalteth itself against the knowledge of God;” that it may not expire or explode in pompous generalities, in presumptuous errors, or more positive mischiefs; that it may not put the stimulated thoughts upon inquiries which neither opportunity nor duty will allow; that it may not warp, or disturb, or unsettle, but rather cause all the appointments of civil and social life to range in better order round a common and commanding centre; that the instruction given may tend less to excite genius than illustrate duties, less to raise curiosity than to regulate opinion, point less to potential attainment, than to practical good: that instead of teaching many things superficially it may teach deeply and well the one thing needful; that it may increase the sum of human felicity, urge on the spiritual progression of the soul, and advance the moral order of this lower world.

So much for the special call at this juncture upon our parochial clergy, created by the present gigantic system of general education. There is still another phenomenon of the times that addresses itself peculiarly to the consciences of the clergy, and renders their profession critically important to the community. Upon the great amphitheatre of the intellectual world a contest is now in progress such as it has never before experienced. Who does not see that in the devil's kingdom there prevails an unusual stir, and effort, and commotion,—a

dismal note of preparation, a dark display of warlike apparatus, a movement every where—every principality and power, every agency and diplomacy in activity—every rusty or forgotten weapon brought down from the arsenals—alliances forming, subsidies collecting, veteran and invalid blasphemies pressed again into the service? All this, and much more, demonstrates that the powers of hell have again consulted and resolved that

Here perhaps       "

Some advantageous act may be achieved,  
By sudden onset, either with hell fire  
To waste this whole creation, or possess  
All as their own, and drive, as they were driven,  
The puny inhabitants; or if not drive,  
Seduce them to their party.

Against these hellish machinations the militant members of our Church are summoned to display to its utmost their evangelical courage. It is now to be seen whether those who are professedly on God's side will act with the zeal and consistency of his true servants. It is to be now seen, whether they will answer the urgent and imperious call which the crisis makes upon them; whether, with such an enemy at their gates, so large a portion of them will still cherish little mean animosities, jealousies, and suspicions;—still continue to call names;—still continue to cry down all active labours as officious, irregular, and supererogatory;—still persevere in piling down clerical duty to the mere letter of the rubric;—still content themselves with executing with exactness an official service, with delivering ethical lectures, with denouncing what it would cost too much to imitate;—still continue to depend upon ancient bulwarks, and venerable towers, while the only substantial means of defence are neglected: or shall we see, in this hour of peril, the conduct of the clergy re-formed after the model recommended by the Bishop of Gloucester? Shall we see through all the ranks of our clergy a grand effort, similar, and not inferior, to that which the enemy is making?—shall we see all ill-founded jealousies sacrificed to the common interest?—shall we see an end made of the foolish uproar about Bible Societies, evangelical preachers; and shall we see one united endeavour to avert the immediate peril? Are we to hope that patronage will be frightened out of its state of apathy and abuse, the High Church roused from its deep official sleep, and the Cathedral and its close become the focus of spiritual zeal, practical piety, and Christian discipline? If this, or any thing like this, should be provoked by the present horrible combinations

against the happiness of life and the hope of the soul, our special thanks will belong to Him to whom only is known the sublime alchemy by which good is wrought out of evil, and who can "turn the fierceness of man to his praise." Half the battle is gained before it begins, if it begins in this way: the blasphemers are "at their wits' end;" they appear, by the general tenour of their latest publications, to have exhausted their armoury. They offer a sure victory to faithful troops, and it seems as if God had decreed "that their own tongues shall make them fall."

Another summons to the British clergy peculiarly arising out of the circumstances of the special juncture at which we are arrived, is the result, more and more developed every day, of the close communication into which the travelling habits of this country are bringing us with the Continent in general, and with France in particular. The manners of the capital of that godless country are not merely such as the religious mind must contemplate with horror; they threaten the entire absorption of the better in the baser parts of our nature,—the triumph of brutal instinct over the moral sense,—the extinction of every trace of the hand that formed us in the Divine likeness. There "corruption boils and bubbles," and an atmosphere polluted from the filth and scum of ten thousand abominations is inhaled by thousands of thousands of British subjects, old and young, husbands and wives, mothers and daughters. Children, Britain's children, there receive, under the deceptive name of education, the seeds of iniquity into their minds, to vegetate and expand on their return to their own country in their florid and fatal luxuriance. The sights and shows, sanguinary, profane, obscene, are alone enough to taint the whole region around Paris. They breathe "a gross and mortal nuisance" into all the air." In the deep turpitude of the interior,—in the dark recesses of profligacy, disease, and ruin, the priests and priestesses of debauchery celebrate their mysteries, immolate their victims, and crown their work. The *Sunday*, after the spectacle of the late executions in the place de Grieco, was the day of the annual exhibition of horse-racing on the Champ de Mars. About 30,000 persons appear to have been present, of whom a great proportion were our own countrymen. Vice crosses you in every path, and gaming goes on from the dawn of every day, Sundays not excepted, to midnight, at places licensed, or rather farmed out by the Government. From these mysteries of iniquity many return adepts; many, with their principles shaken if not subverted; many with their morals loosened, and their taste debauched; many with an indifference to distinctions, once

deemed essential, or with new distinctions borrowed from the sophistry of the passions; some we trust with a relish for the amiable, the pure, and the holy, improved by comparison; but without doubt, in this commerce of mind, the English nation is exchanging its staples for infected stuff, and wretched frippery at best. To encounter these evils, and save the mind of the country, the clergy have, as we consider these matters, another extraordinary general call upon them at this moment. But the danger to the Lord's day, as the last strong hold of Christianity, now menaced with the destruction of all its sanctity by the habits imported by travelled impiety, calls with the vehemence of unutterable importunity for the exertions of the sacred ministry; and we cannot but think that this danger adds infinitely to the weight of all that the Bishop of Gloucester's charge insists upon. The Sunday is in their hands to use or abuse, to defend or betray; and unless they surround it with the dignity and energy of their own examples and talents, covetousness and dissipation will soon share it between them: it will merge in the week, and be lost to God and man. The disregard and desecration of this day appear to us to be among the most visible evils flowing from our increased intercourse with the Continent. Though preaching may be followed with as much assiduity as ever, he must be blind to the most manifest indications of the times who does not remark the carelessness and apathy of our *sitting* and *dumb* congregations during the praying part of the service; and blinder still is he who does not perceive that the part of the day not covered by the stated offices of the Church is distinguished chiefly by greater insobriety, and that the Romish Church is, in this instance, through the laxity and indifference of her rival, recovering the best part of her lost ground. But we hope for better things; for, of all robberies, to rob Jehovah of any part of his own peculiar day is the worst, and will probably be the most punished. He solemnly reserved it out of the life interest which he granted to ~~us~~ in the works of his hands. By choosing it for the celebration of the close of his two great achievements, the creation and redemption of man, he has sealed it with a double sanctification. And, after all, he has reserved it not for his own sake, but for the benefit of man, whom he has called up to a partnership in it with himself. He has made it a day for ~~renewing~~ renewing with us his covenant of grace, and for recapitulating his mercies and his promises. He has made it, moreover, a most beautiful and benign season of intermission and refreshment to the creatures of his moral and natural world, easing the wearied shoulder of its burden, and the harassed intellect of its cares; and it has pleased him to stamp his own image and memorial upon this sacred gift of

leisure, that our especial recollection of his blessed Self might be associated with the sense of enjoyment.

We shall advert only to one other peculiarity in the moral predicament of the world (a peculiarity of a very different kind from that to which we have last alluded), which puts extraordinary and special obligations upon the clergy. The new æra which has begun in the Church by the increased circulation of the Scriptures in these latter times, requires it even for its own safety to be in a state of energetic activity. It must follow where the Bible leads. It surely does not become the Church of England to be afraid of this Book; but if it do not feel itself placed in any new predicament by this great event—if it do not perceive that the total population of this country is thereby taken out of a neutral state in respect of religion, and excited to an extraordinary curiosity and interest on the subject—if it will not understand the necessity of lending itself to the new state of things, and of profiting by the crisis—if a large proportion of its dignitaries will still continue to check the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, and starve the cause of Christianity—if it can be induced to listen to such misrepresentations, such gross, and we must add, insolent and calumnious misrepresentations and perversions as occur in “the Respectful Letter to the Earl of Liverpool,” by the perpetual curate of St. John’s Chapel, Hackney; then there is ground for saying that the Established Church is in danger from the Bible Societies. But if the Church of England will regard the Bible as the charter of its own foundation—if, seeing that the British and Foreign Society is doing precisely that which is doing by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, it holds out the hand of Christian fellowship, and cordially accepts its co-operation—if it will consider the wide dispersion of the Scriptures as extending the area of its own exertions, and multiplying its proper business, as well as augmenting its means, then will this grand comprehensive Christian institution, so hardly treated by Mr. Norris, be found to be in effect the very best friend the Church has gained since the Reformation.

We cannot avoid, as we pass along over this vast and varied scene, occasionally turning aside to examine some rare or remarkable object which overshadows, though it may not lie in, our path; and just such is the extraordinary production on the subject of the Bible Society, lately sent forth by the Reverend gentleman last alluded to. He seems to consider a few practical indiscretions in the mode of collecting money and increasing subscriptions, exhibited in the commencement of its career, and some ill-judged and intemperate expressions, some idle and rambling illustrations, some ill-chosen allusions, some inco-

herencies, some false metaphors, a few juvenilities, and a few senilities which may have dropped occasionally from the mouths of some of its advocates in their public addressess, as justifying a sentence of condemnation from a perpetual curate of Hackney, against an incorporation of persons the most august in names and number, the most catholic in plan and purpose, and comprising the largest sum and average of moral worth that has appeared upon the stage of the world, for objects and interests uncombined with worldly advantage, since the days of primitive, unendowed Christianity.\*

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\* It is very painful, at a moment so critical as the present, to find a minister of the Gospel assuming a minister of state for advocating, in a speech as President of one of these societies, the dispersion of the Holy Scriptures, on the express ground, not only of its tending to promote Christianity throughout the world, but of its leading men to approve of our excellent Liturgy. To us it seems neither decent nor liberal in this reverend author to print a placard of his Lordship's speech on the first leaf of his pamphlet, and after expressing doubts of its authenticity, to proceed to censure it throughout, and to treat it as a proof of his Lordship's having been "imposed upon." The greatest offence is taken at a passage in the speech, in which Lord Liverpool had observed, that the operation of the Bartlett's Buildings Society was *limited*; for which opinion he assigns as a reason, that the Bible may be circulated when the Prayer Book cannot; and upon this Mr. Norris is either very incorrect, or very disingenuous. Limited, certainly, in the extent of its operation, as far as respects the Bible, the ancient society must be in comparison of the new, which last is unlimited in operation, because it is limited as to the subjects of distribution; and this, in effect, is Lord Liverpool's proposition. It is in virtue of the distribution of the Bible *alone* that the co-operation of dissenters, and foreigners of all Christian communions, has been obtained, and this is the extension contemplated by the noble speaker: but Mr. Norris attacks the proposition as if the limitation alluded to in the speech had reference only to the subjects distributed. Having given Lord Liverpool a very magisterial correction for his having advocated a society of which Mr. Norris disapproved, he proceeds to establish its defect of principle in two ways, in each of which there is much sophistry, and a little of chicanery: first, by a dense exhibition of all the casual and scattered indiscretions, of which its friends have been guilty in speech or action; and, in the second place, by showing that ever since the Bible Society has been established, crimes have been upon the increase throughout the country. The utter absurdity of this argument, which would obviously afford an equal reason for treading back our steps in every national undertaking engaged in during the last twenty years for meliorating the state of society, is too glaring to deserve a serious confutation. It may be enough to remind our readers, that its logic applies with precisely the same force to the one society as to the other, as far as regards the distribution of the Bible. When Mr. Norris's reasoning is stripped of its contumelious verbiage, and the vast accumulation of heterogeneous matter with which it is incumbered, it dwindles into this notable objection—that the Bible, when distributed by the hand of any other than a member of our National Church, must operate to the prejudice of that Church; nay, further, that it will furnish an explanation of the great increase of crime, which has marked with ignominy the last fifteen years of this great nation. Whatever mischief may be the result of this publication, we are sure it will not frighten that respectable nobleman out of his firmness and consistency, nor make Lord Liverpool afraid to avow his *imputed* speech. It is full of childish fury and unwarrantable abuse, and among men of sense will long stand as a monument of the imbecility and disingenuousness into which a sensible man may fall by being attached so much to the honour of carrying on a good work as to tolerate no extraneous contribution to its success.

In the Bishop of Gloucester's Charge we note this peculiar excellence—that it is vital, devotional, and earnest, without

We must not dismiss Mr. Norris without saying a little more on the spirit and tone of his pamphlet. It is replete with indecent railing and low abuse. If the conduct which this uncharitable priest imputes to the Bible Societies could with any justice be fixed upon them, Lord Liverpool must have been without penetration, or, rather, without ears, to have been ignorant of it; and to have known it well, and yet to have accepted the presidency of a Bible Society, would argue him a very different sort of person from that which he is known to be. Without doubt, there have been foolish speeches made at Bible Societies, but there have been foolish speeches also made in the House of Lords, and foolish speeches in the House of Commons; and the wisest assemblies upon earth have had some folly mixed up with their wisdom. Some froth will arise from the fermentation of the most intelligent minds. But the proper question is, whether there is, on the whole, to be found in the speeches and acts of these societies such an aggregation of foolish and improper things said and done as to ground a charge against them of absurdity, fanaticism, imposture, mendacity, quackery, knavery, kidnapping, extortion, fraud, spoliation of the poor, disturbance of all domestic order, and decency, and privacy, fascination, illuminism, witchcraft,—all which and more are the ingredients of the poison with which this assailant bafts his arrows against those who, *by seeking God's favour, have incurred the indignation of his priest*. If the picture given by Mr. Norris be at all accurate, no associations formed in modern times for spoliation or subversion, or the spread of desolating principles, are more to be dreaded than this society, whose secret nevertheless is shared with every hamlet, and whose infernal designs have as yet providentially only broken out in spreading the Bible over the globe, and in making every tongue its own interpreter. This is all that Mr. Norris has discovered concerning it; and upon this discovery he scruples not to affirm of it, composed as we trust our readers know it to be of crowned and mitred heads, of great statesmen and profound scholars; of learned, and what is better, of pious divines, both foreign and domestic; that “it began its career with trepanning ladies into its assemblies, to be the auditors of its seductive eloquence, and inflammatory harangues, and thus has it corrupted a generation for its own purposes.” So that the present generation of Britons is corrupted, or about to be corrupted, by the same process by which the papal corruptions were once removed from our Church and State, and Satan is to triumph with the cross for his banner.

Alas! alas! according to Mr. Norris, victory begins to declare itself for Satan and the Bible; for mark the progress of demoralization by means of the Bible Societies. Before the commencement of the Bible Society, Mr. Norris had observed the world to be growing rather good, for which opinion he cites and misapplies the words of an excellent bishop; but the Bible interposed itself, and stood between the soul and its salvation by inverting the tendency to good, previously discernible, and bringing in a period during which “incredulity and blasphemy has been gathering confidence, and spreading their contagion in equal ratio with the Bible Society's progression.” Even the profanation of the Sabbath is traced to the same fertile source of evil. But we can proceed in this painful course no further, and request our readers to forgive us for the length of our note on a topic arising out of, but not accompanying, the subject to which our article is properly dedicated, though certainly too interesting to be passed without a strong comment. If we have imparted to our readers an uneasiness like that which we ourselves have felt, we recommend them for refreshment to the speech of the Rev. James Dunn, at the meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, on the 18th April, 1822, wherein they will see a noble argument unfold itself in all the varieties and graces of the most consummate felicity of expression and illustration. If they are not induced to think with him that a prophetic intimation of the religious movements of our time are discoverable in Holy Writ, they will, at least, we are persuaded, “observe,” with him “that there is a providential co-operation speeding their progress, and bringing forth fruits much beyond the natural effects of human agency.” Mr. Gisborne too (a man of at least as cool a head as the minister of Hackney,) thus declared himself on the same subject: “when I consider these wonders (alluding to what had

lending the smallest colour to any irregular, unauthorised, or presumptuous feelings. He will appear eminently sober and moderate to all but those who cannot detach spirituality from fanaticism, and with such it is vain to reason. He has, withal, the merit of being precise in his terms. Nothing is denounced, nothing is enforced, but by a description that makes his meaning impossible to be misunderstood. This clearness we esteem the more, as the want of it is a prevailing defect with the clergy. While so many nick-names are exchanged at random among the ministering members of Christ's Church, it becomes a matter of increased importance to be guarded, full, and precise, in the enunciation of doctrine; and we would venture to suggest to the most spiritual part of this reverend body, the peculiar danger, at this moment, of aiming too much at strong metaphorical expression. Points of divinity will not bear this. They perish by too much human handling. They are plants, brought from a far country, which will live and flourish only in their own indigenous mould: man's curiosity and intermeddling constitute their greatest danger. As long as we keep true to Scripture, it matters not how false we are to theory. The practical excellence of the minister is to exhibit the great truths of our religion distinctly, and loosely, as they lie in Scripture; but, still to exhibit them, as much as possible, in company with each other; and, above all, to refrain from attempting to coerce them into system and agreement, which is God's and not man's business. Every thing—oh, how merciful and condescending is this!—is *there* propounded with every guard against extravagance and excess. One thing is unquestionably clear, that no one part of Holy Scripture is to be sacrificed to the other; and to avoid appearing to do so, it is the part of the judicious preacher to associate in precept whatever should be combined in practice.

We found these observations upon the disposition of the times to charge upon the more spiritual part of the ministry enthusiastic and exclusive tenets, and the maintenance of doctrines leading to practical licentiousness. By this temperate, guarded, and complete exhibition of truth, in the fulness of its

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been accomplished by the Bible Society) all feelings are summed up and absorbed in one irresistible impression—*this is the finger of God!* Now whether what is thus intimated by Mr. Dunn and Mr. Gisborne, and supported by the concurrent sentiments of so many wise, temperate, and pious men, or the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Norris, who has found counterparts of the Bible Society, in the United Irishmen, the Illuminati of Germany, the Revolutionists of France, and the fomentors of insurrection, licentiousness, and crime, all over the world, and who, in one of his publications, considered the dreadful murders committed at the east end of the metropolis some few years ago, as proper to be alluded to in describing the demoralizing effects of this institution, is most worthy of the attention of the Earl of Liverpool, his lordship's own sound intelligence will best decide.—REV.



proportions, they will either avoid being called names, or will, at least, neutralize the abuse. It behoves them also to be careful to suppress the desire to call names in return, and to correct a too hasty disposition to deal about them the terms legalists, arminians, pelagians; for the exemplification of all which Christian circumspection and honest policy we refer them to "the Life of the Rector of Aston Sandford," the noblest testimony upon Christian record of the power of the Spirit of Truth to give us "a right judgment in all things," since the days of the judicious Hooker.

In the Charge of the Bishop of Meath, delivered to his clergy, in July last, our readers will see what we mean by calling names. They will there find, by the imputation of doctrines a thousand times disclaimed, but which it still gratifies some amongst us to persevere in imputing, what description of persons are in part, if not principally, meant by the names of reproach employed by the Bishop to denounce the objects of his uninquiring hostility. Calvinists, sectaries, seceders, are the appellations employed, and, as far as they may be meant to describe those to whom they appellatively belong, we carry our disapprobation, and regret, as far as his Lordship; though his method of correction would seem to us to promise little benefit to the Church: but as certain characters are aimed at, which neither of these designations will cover, it seems as if the Bishop, by making an amalgam of them all, were resolved to spread the daubing compound over a quantity of surface equal to the range of his spiritual animosity. It would not have been quite seemly for a Bishop to make war with the *saints*, or perhaps he might at once have defined the veritable object of his attack by that word of happy irony, under which all are included that will not disprove their hypocrisy by defying their God.

We question whether more harm is not done to the church by this vague, obscure, and indiscriminate mode of attack, than by the more explicit hostility displayed in certain other episcopal charges towards a class of clergymen on whom malice has fixed the title of evangelical, that it might have to accuse them of assuming it to themselves. Under these sweeping accusations, no minister is safe but by doing nothing, or as little as he can help. Any spiritual stir, any the smallest movement of zeal on the part of a clergyman within his diocesan's jurisdiction, may bring him under one or other of his proscriptive epithets. If the unhappy man's head appears above the trenches, the misdirected artillery of his own commander may chance to punish his temerity. All this we see with great regret, because we think a minister may in

these days be a little busy in the church without injury to its interests; because we believe that people are too busy out of it to suffer it to enjoy its repose in safety; and because we have long thought that the quarrel with certain members of our National Church, called evangelical, is rather moral than doctrinal; or, in other words, that if they would do no more than others do, their divinity would be held innoxious. Their depreciation of works, when vaunted as the purchase of salvation, is the thing complained of; but in truth, the works they *do* are the things that excite the clamour, and, above all, the vital importance they annex to them in their proper scriptural relation and spiritual connexion.

We are resolved not to wet our wings in controversy upon the present occasion, and shall only observe that this class of clergymen, so often the objects of attack in episcopal charges, sons as they are of that natural infirmity which, even in our holiest things, is always pushing us on to destructive extremes, do, in general, remarkably abstain from introducing into their sermons doctrines of high and mystical import. They propose to us no faith that does not imply holiness, necessitate works, and exact consistency. They neither profess nor denounce Calvinism, but if it comes in their way they remove it with gentleness, and place it among the hidden things of God. They lament with a godly sorrow the dangerous errors of the sectaries and seceders, and the detestable tenets of the antinomian heresy. They deem it, to the last degree, pernicious and impious to flatter the people with any special privileges, or to hold out to them any speedy or summary mode of salvation, independent of moral rectitude and honest conversation; or to encourage them to expect any extraordinary assistance which may supersede the gradual process of evangelical repentance. A word more and we have done with this subject: pass through what diocese or district you please of the British empire, and find, if you can, one hundred hard working, episcopally ordained ministers of God, and then ask how they class in the church to which they belong, and you will assuredly be informed that nine-tenths of them are called evangelical, let the term import what it may.

The Right Reverend Author, with whom we are principally now concerned, was one of the class to which we have been alluding, and is now an evangelical Bishop; and our readers shall hear what are his Lordship's views of evangelical practice. They shall hear his opinions on the duties and proprieties of the clerical life, considered first, in its pursuits of business—secondly, in its relaxations and amusements. The whole is introduced in terms truly interesting and affecting. Alluding

to a former address, which had been devoted to the consideration of the proper discharge of the direct functions of their profession by "teaching and persuading every man to seek his own salvation," he thus proceeds:—

"The most important and difficult part remains: I have to explain and to urge upon you the *indirect* teaching by *example*—by the elevating standard, and the attractive influence of a life, consistent with the precepts, and congenial with the doctrine, which you preach.

"Hence, therefore, in humble imitation of St. Paul, and in glad hope that I may address many a willing follower of Timothy, I now adopt the remainder of the passage, and apply to each of you the exhortation: 'Take heed (not only) to thy doctrine (but) to thyself.'

"Not indeed the official authority, but the real weight and actual effect of the ministerial functions depend, in very great measure, upon the private esteem and respect, in which *He* is held, who discharges them—upon the resemblance or contrariety of his own copy to the model, which he is obliged to set before his people. Our Divine Teacher, indeed, himself enjoined his disciples to observe and do whatsoever even their most unworthy ministers bade them observe: and in exact concurrence with this scriptural injunction, our 26th Article expressly pronounces that 'we *may* use the ministry of evil men.' It declares 'that the effect of Christ's ordinance is not taken away by *their* wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly do receive the sacraments ministered unto them.'

"How is the dignity of the office thus magnified, and the guilt of those, who unworthily execute it, ten-fold enhanced! But such is the natural preference of evil, that, notwithstanding the decision thus made by the highest authority, what our people thus *hear*, will rarely indeed counterbalance the effect of what they *see*, and the vices, the dissipation, the worldliness, and the lukewarmness of the *man* will generally render utterly vain the prayers and the preaching of the Priest, however duly commissioned, however solemnly set apart for his office. *His* words must come from the heart, or they will never reach the heart. The precept must be accompanied and recommended by the exemplification: the picture delineated must have its counterpart, in some measure, in the picture embodied. The preacher's doctrine must be confirmed by the daily and hourly lesson of his conduct. He must be able, in his measure, to say with St. Paul, 'Be ye followers of me, even as also I am of Christ,' or he will make no 'proof of his ministry;' the very seal of his office, the charge he undertook, the title he assumed, the privileges and opportunities he enjoyed, the powers and means of usefulness he possessed, will rise up in judgment against him—not only his own, but his people's 'blood will be upon his head,' and he will inherit 'double condemnation.'—(P. 7—9.)

Upon the permissible extent to which the pursuits of business may be carried on by a clergyman, the Bishop of Gloucester presents himself to us with an aspect of great benignity,

but with his right hand upon the gospel of God. No man with any Christian candour in his mind can refuse his full assent to every word that comes from him on this delicate part of his subject. We will quote a few of his observations.

"It requires then no special gift of discernment, no nice casuistry, to set the mark of *unlawfulness* upon the pursuits of business in a *clerical* life. All are excluded—all trades, professions, employments, and laborious studies, which cannot fairly claim the plea of necessity, or which have not a reference direct, or decided, though indirect, to the labours and objects of the profession. If '*honest* (in themselves) and of *good report*,' they may well befit the most pious amongst our people: the laity may *thus*, 'in the fear of the Lord, and with the comfort of the Holy Ghost,' get their own living in that station, in 'which it hath pleased God to place them;' but to *us* they are forbidden. We are set apart for higher and still better things. We have our own vocation, and *in that* we can hardly be too earnest, too laborious, too much absorbed, 'spending and being spent.' Within the limits, however, and conformable to the definition above laid down, there are occupations, in which the present constitution of society seems often to require, and the purity of the Christian priesthood to permit us to be engaged.

Of such pursuits, *personal attention* to the sources of our pecuniary support, and especially the superintendence of our assigned portion of land, stands obviously the *first*. That degree of regard to our temporal concerns, which will prevent waste, and enable us to '*owe no man any thing*,' which will maintain our families in decent comfort, educate our children, and provide, if possible, some moderate inheritance for those whom we leave behind, cannot, in the present circumstances of the church, be blamed. It is not incompatible with Christian duty, or with the standard of ministerial spirituality. It is even needful to prevent many scandals and offences, which neglect and consequent distress would produce. But all beyond—the devotion of any considerable time to these objects—the indulgence of anxious solicitude—the aim at '*much goods laid up in store*,' directly overstep the boundary, and plunge us into sin. Innocent as agricultural pursuits, the primitive business of man, appear, even *they* are found to draw us down and chain us to the earth; and our *personal* occupation of land is, on that very account, justly and wisely restrained by the legislature within narrow limits. Indeed, the very nature of the property, which was from the earliest period and by scriptural authority, set apart for the subsistence of the clerical order, clearly proves the intention of secluding us, as much as may be, from worldly cares. The tythe severed, the corn in the sheaf, the hay in the mow, prepared for our use, are so many mementos of the design of the institution, in which we hold a place—endowed with *gratuitous* provision, and therefore consecrated to the *undivided* service of our God and Saviour." (P. 11—13.)

The advantages and disadvantages, coupled with the business of education in a country clergyman, is well described and compared by this judicious prelate. After admitting the

apology which the indigence of the parish priest burthened with a family not seldom offers for his engaging in the task of teaching the children of the opulent; and, on the other hand, remarking the tendency of the occupation nevertheless to divert much time from his functional employments, to exhaust the spirits and try the temper, to habituate the mind to a train of ideas, a tone of feeling, and a moral taste wholly adverse to vital religion, and to cast a deadening apathy or a sickly refinement over all his ministrations, especially in the cottage and among the poor, he brings his case of conscience to the following qualified and guarded conclusion.

"Thanks be to God, this is only a tendency, and we have examples of its complete counteraction. But we have here again, as in relation to the *former* pursuit, to cultivate a spirit and disposition, which will prevent or cure the apprehended evil, and enable us to be at once faithful shepherds to the lambs of the stranger and to the flock, who are entrusted to our ministerial care. Keep before your eyes the one thing needful, in *each* employment—the performance of Christian duty in a Christian manner. By encreased industry, self-denial, and watchful economy of time, suffer not the *one* to encroach upon the *other*. Apply yourself, with special diligence and vigilant guard over your thoughts, and earnest prayer, to correct the self-exalting imaginations and the Anti-Christian frame of soul, which the merely scientific or classical reading is of itself apt to generate." (P. 17.)

To the discharge of the functions of the magistracy by a parish minister, the objections appear to us to be of a decisive character, and the Bishop has so well described them in half a page, that we were unable, after reading it, to enter fully into the apology which he afterwards suggests for this union of office in particular cases. Speaking of the independent proprietor of land, he observes, that "it is perhaps his only way of systematically discharging his public occupations to society and to God."

"But the many hours it may sometimes employ in preparation and performance—the secular business of other kinds and the worldly company, into which it draws us—the scenes it calls upon us to witness—the invidious share it may oblige us to take in matters, where the public interest is but little, if at all concerned, and where private feelings are sure to be irritated—the wide difference between the estimate of some offences, according as they are measured by the laws of God or by those of men—and the consequent lenity, with which some crimes are treated, against which we have to denounce the heaviest vengeance of the Lord—all these disadvantages determine some of our own order to refrain from undertaking the duties of a magistrate, and render it a matter of mature and anxious deliberation with others, whose pastoral work is their delight, and whose people's salvation is their grand aim and predominant desire." (P. 18, 19.)

On the subject of clerical amusements it was impossible for the Bishop to descend to particulars. Nor is this to be regretted. When a man becomes devout, vicious or silly amusements are no longer gaieties to him, but are transformed into business of the dullest and most wearisome character. A devout clergyman, especially, sets out with a tenderness for the character and office with which he is invested, that soon gives him a distinguishing taste in all that concerns it. It is a taste wholly of spiritual growth; and the mind that is without its interior discipline and refinement can no more enter into the beautiful properties which belong to the ministerial character, than a man without an ear for modulation can taste or apprehend the principles of Milton's versification. A test, however, is supplied by the Bishop to help the conscience where there may exist doubts in any particular case.

"To private Christians it has often been recommended, as the test of the lawfulness of a diversion, to consider whether, after a day or an evening thus spent, the devotions will be as heartily and satisfactorily performed; whether the train of ideas and imaginations, which it generates, will be favourable or unfavourable to a religious frame of mind; and whether the individual would be content to be summoned to his account from amid such a scene and such an occupation. To this test, in the case of a *clerical* diversion, it must surely be added: Will it tend to fit or to unfit you, not only for the punctual but for the cordial discharge of your sacred duties? Will it leave you as disposed and qualified to lead the prayers of the congregation with that lively earnestness, that 'spirit of supplication,' which becomes such matter and such expressions—with the heart obviously in the work,—with the whole soul '*drawing nigh unto God?*' Will it leave you as capable and willing to exhort and to supplicate by the bed of sickness, with the Christian sympathy of a soul, daily intent upon heavenly things, and inured to the contemplation of death and eternity? And again, How will the sight of the minister engaged in such diversions affect the feelings, with which his people view him? Will it produce in any measure on their parts a contagious indifference and lukewarmness in their common devotions, and a want of that, not only mental, but hearty assent, that *realizing reception* of the truths delivered from the pulpit, which can alone give them their full influence and power? Will the sight produce in them any suspicion of their minister's sincerity,—any mistrust of the efficacy of *his* ministrations, and, if not a contempt of his person, yet a contemptuous refusal of that reverential regard, with which the ministerial character should always be invested?" (P. 21, 25.)

After enumerating certain innocent and honourable recreations which may be indulged to the sacred profession of a clergyman, we have this amiable and elegant summing up.

"But even in relaxations and pleasures of a nature, such as has been generally decried, unexceptionable and capable of being pro-

fitable,—the *lawfulness* must depend upon the temper and disposition, with which they are pursued and enjoyed. They must be regarded as necessary *diversions*, not *deviations* from our ministerial career. The grand aim and object must still preside—‘to save ourselves and those that hear us.’ Our thoughts must be often ‘inditing of the good matter’ in the midst of our pleasures—and our conversation tending heavenwards, even when it relates primarily to earthly scenes and occupations. As in the well-wrought web the *thread* runs through and pervades the whole texture—as the *stream* will often retain through its whole course the taste of the mineral, which imbeds its spring—so there should be a prevalent cast, a perceptible savor of godliness in our moments of greatest ease and liveliness.

“The most tempting excursion, however innocent and refreshing, should be gladly sacrificed at the call of duty—the pastor should be readily re-assumed by the deeply-interested student—and the man of God should ever shine through the agreeable companion. Alone, or in company, in business, or in pleasure, in the most sublime and pathetic exercises of our profession, and in the least intellectual occupations of our lives, the predominant quality of the mind should, as much as possible, be *spirituality*—the characteristic feature of our conduct should be consistent *devotedness* to the service of Christ, and of our brethren, for whom Christ died.

“Such, my Reverend brethren, is, I trust, the scriptural portrait of the faithful minister of the gospel, however rudely and inadequately delineated—in the private walk—in the *employments* and the *relaxations* of his domestic and his social life. Such is the character, I venture to assert, neither too highly elevated nor too strongly coloured, which it becomes, which it behoves us all to endeavour to attain and to exhibit, if we would escape the shame and woe of unprofitable, and secure the praise and reward of profitable, pastors of the Church of Christ. Such is the character which the scripture, the primitive Church, the Church of England, best offspring of that parent—best copy of that original, expect and demand. Such alone will answer the requirements and fulfil the promises of our ordination service, which no modern interpretations can enervate—no modern customs excusably transgress.” (P. 32, 33.)

Such is the Bishop of Gloucester's charge, which we were induced to take up by the singular character which, as a charge, it appeared to us to present. The more spiritual part of the ministry will not think we over-state its worth when we say that it points out a course which, if generally attended to by the parochial clergy, would go far towards renovating our National Church with new succours of health and strength, and through the Church to communicate to the state a fresh consecration of its laws and liberties.\*

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\* Will our readers allow us to add here, that we have this moment received an Irish newspaper, containing the greater part of the charge delivered on the 24th of October, by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin to the clergy of his arch-diocese. To notice any thing in this form may not be quite correct in a Critical Journal, we will therefore borrow Mr. Norris's phrase in his pamphlet on which we have

## ART. XIII.—THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GUNNERY.

1. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical Subjects: comprising among numerous Important Articles, the Theory of Bridges, with several Plans of recent Improvement. Also, the Results of numerous Experiments on the Force of Gunpowder, with Applications to the modern Practice of Artillery.* By Charles Hutton, LL.D. and FRS. &c. Late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 3 vols. 8vo. Rivingtons, &c. London, 1812.
2. *Observations on the Motives, Errors, and Tendencies of M. Carnot's Principles of Defence; showing the Defects of his new System of Fortification, and of the Alterations he has proposed with a view to improve the Defences of existing Places.* By Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. KSC. CB. FRS. Inspector General of the Royal Military College. 8vo. Eger-ton. London, 1819.
3. *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery. Published with the Approbation and Permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.* By Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, Bart. &c. 8vo. Murray. London, 1820.
4. *Résultats de quelques Expériences faites à Woolwich avec un Pendule ballistique pesant plus de 3355 Kilogrammes.* Annales de Chimie et de Physique. Tome 5, 1817.
5. *Expériences relatives à l'Influence du Vent sur la Vitesse des Projectiles et la Justesse du Tir.* Annales de Chimie, &c. Tome 9, 1818.
6. *Mémoire sur l'Effet des Feux Verticaux proposés par M. Carnot, dans la Défense des Places fortes.* Par M. Augoyat, Capitaine au Corps Royal du Génie. 4to. Paris, 1821.

If the dissertations and treatises whose titles are placed above, related exclusively to the art of war, we should not, probably, have chosen to give an account of them in a season of profound peace. But the subject of military projectiles presents numerous topics of inquiry, as interesting to the philosopher as to the hero; and which are calculated as fully to call into exercise the investigative powers of the former in the closet, as they are to exhibit the active energies of the latter in the field.

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commented so much in a note to this article, and talk of it as his "imputed" address. From so much of it as has thus fallen in our way, we are induced to urge, the perusal of it upon the clergy on either side of the channel, as a noble monument of the true spirit of church discipline, of pure episcopal counsel, of correct feeling of the dangers now threatening our ecclesiastical establishment, and of pious and perspicacious views of the means by which it is to be wisely and worthily defended.



Ever since Galileo laid the foundation of dynamics, gunnery has had a place amongst the mathematical sciences. Indeed that extraordinary man, in the fourth of his *Dialogues on Motion*, published in 1646, demonstrated that a cannon-ball, or any other projectile, would describe in its flight the curve of a parabola, except so far as the resistance of the air should cause a deviation from that track. He also proposed the means of examining the irregularities produced by that resistance; but he formed a very inadequate estimate of their extent and magnitude.

Robert Anderson, in his *Genuine Use and Effects of the Gunne*, published in 1674, as well as in his rules *To hit a Mark*, published in 1690, adopts the theory of Galileo, and courageously proposes to answer all possible objections. Blondel, also, in his *Art de jeter les Bombes*, unhesitatingly adopts the theory of the learned Florentine, and denies the necessity of modification.

Soon, however, the more extensive application of mathematics to inquiries in natural philosophy rendered it impossible to acquiesce in these erroneous results. Thus Huyghens showed that if the resistance of the air were proportional to the velocity of the moving body, the line described would be a kind of logarithmic curve. Shortly afterwards Newton demonstrated, in his *Principia*, that under certain restrictions the resistance of the air is nearly as the square of the velocity of the body moving in it; and upon this hypothesis he made some very elegant approximations to the nature of the curve described by the projectile. John Bernoulli, Herman, and Brook Taylor, entered eagerly upon the same inquiry, and made some advances. And Daniel Bernoulli, in *Comment. Acad. Petrop.* tom. 2, concludes, from experiment, that a ball which ascended only 7819 feet in the air, would have ascended 58750 feet in vacuo! thus proving, to the astonishment of many, the enormous resistance opposed by the air to rapid motions.

But our learned countryman, Robins, seems to have been the first who entered upon this subject with a systematic determination to avail himself of the joint aid of analytical theory and of cautious and extensive practice, and to proceed methodically through the whole range of useful inquiry. In his *New Principles of Gunnery*, published in 1742, he first investigates the explosive force of the gunpowder, and then the velocity acquired by the ball in consequence of the action of the inflamed gunpowder upon it. He proved, by indisputable experiments, that the force of inflamed powder arises from a subtile elastic matter contained in the powder, which by the ignition is set at liberty to expand itself. He then attempts to

investigate the quantity of that force, and by what law it diminishes as this elastic fluid dilates itself; as well as to what extent the expansive energy is increased or modified by heat. Thus much premised, he proceeds to investigate the velocity of a ball projected from a given tube with a given quantity of gunpowder. In order to confirm the truth of his conclusions, he contrived a machine, the Ballistic Pendulum (of which we shall say more in the sequel) by means of which the actual velocity of the ball might be ascertained: and he found a remarkable agreement between his theoretical deductions and the results of experiment. He next inquires into the resistance of the air, and proves that the law of resistance to very swift motions is considerably greater than had been imagined by previous investigators. He shows how much any ball, projected with a given velocity, will gradually lose of that velocity in consequence of the resistance of the medium; and constantly fortifies his determinations by experiments with the Ballistic Pendulum.

Mr. Robins does not investigate the nature of the curve described by a projectile in a resisting medium. That labour, however, has been since attempted by Euler, Robison, Legendre, and with great elegance by Poisson in his *Mechanics*; but the results they furnish are not sufficiently practical to be of much utility; whatever may be their ingenuity as efforts of analytical skill.

Euler translated Robins's work into the German language, and enriched it with a very elaborate commentary and notes. These again were transplanted into the English soil by Mr. Hugh Brown, in 1777; and rendered still more valuable by several additions furnished by Landen, an analyst of extraordinary talents and genius, whose profound investigations on a variety of physical subjects deserve much more careful examination and much warmer praise than they have ever yet received. Robins's *Principles*, with these successive augmentations, are, indeed, highly interesting and instructive to mathematicians, serving incidentally to illustrate many points in the transcendental branches of science. But the practical bearings of the several steps in the inquiry were by no means so constantly kept in mind as could be wished; so that there remained ample room for the exertions of a new traveller in this path of investigation.

Shortly before the appearance of Brown's translation of Euler's Robins, Dr. Hutton had been appointed to the Mathematical Professorship, in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. In him were united very extensive mathematical acquirements, remarkable calmness and patience as an investi-

gator, and an earnest desire to direct his talents to some subject of great and obvious utility in the public station he then occupied. Thus qualified and thus stimulated to exertion, he commenced in 1775 (having removed from Newcastle to Woolwich in 1773) a course of experiments on fired gunpowder and the velocities of cannon-balls. Discarding from his consideration what was obviously referable to the researches of the chemist, he still found ample scope for the most enlarged inquiry; and soon distributed his topics under the following general heads:—

1. The velocities with which balls are projected by equal charges of powder from pieces of the same weight and calibre, but of different lengths.

2. The velocities with different charges of powder, the weight and length of the gun being the same.

3. The greatest velocities due to the different lengths of gun; or to be obtained by increasing the charge so far as the cohesive force of the piece will allow.

4. The effect of varying the weight of the piece, every thing else remaining the same.

5. The penetration of balls into blocks of wood, when fired with certain velocities.

6. The velocities of balls at different distances from the muzzle of the piece, serving to determine the resistance of the medium; compared, also, with other methods of determining the air's resistance.

7. The effects of wads; of different degrees of ramming, or of compression given to the charge; of different positions of the vent; of different degrees of windage, &c.

8. The ranges and times of flight; the determinal velocity, and its use in approximating to the ranges in real practice.

In the determination of these particulars, the Doctor availed himself, jointly, of cautious experiment, and of the most judicious (sometimes refined) theoretical investigations. After pursuing his inquiry with extraordinary perseverance for many years, he has laid the result of the whole before the public in the second and third volumes of his *Tracts*, whose title stands at the head of this article.

It is not our intention to follow him step by step, over the entire region which he has so elaborately explored: but simply to select a few of the more interesting points, and especially those which are further elucidated by the subsequent experiments and researches recorded in the other publications which now lie before us.

An object of essential importance in these inquiries, is the velocity with which a military projectile actually moves. This

velocity being very great, that is, from 6 or 700 to 1500 or even 2000 feet in a second of time; its convenient estimation seems naturally to involve some reduction. To accomplish this, Mr. Robins invented the Ballistic Pendulum. It consists of a large block of wood, annexed to the end of an iron stem, strongly framed, and capable of oscillating freely upon a horizontal axis. This machine being at rest, a piece of ordnance is pointed directly towards the face of the block, at any assigned distance, as 20, 30, 40, 60, &c. feet, and then fired: the ball discharged from the gun strikes and enters the block, communicating to it a velocity, which is to the velocity with which the ball was moving at the moment of impact, as the weight of the ball to the sum of the weights of ball and pendulum. Referring this velocity to the centre of oscillation of the pendulum, it will rise through an appreciable arc of vibration till such velocity is extinguished. The measure of that arc will lead to the determination of the velocity, because it is evidently equal to the velocity which a body would acquire by falling freely through the versed sine of the arc shown by the experiment.

Mr. Robins's largest ballistic pendulum weighed only 97 pounds; being employed to ascertain the velocities of balls weighing about an ounce each. The smallest pendulum constructed by Dr. Hutton, weighed 600 pounds: and, as he pursued his experiments, the new pendulums were made successively larger and larger, till they reached the weight of about 2600 lbs. He also made several improvements in their construction, especially in the manner of suspension, and in that of measuring the semi-arc of vibration; employing this curious apparatus in ascertaining the velocities of balls varying in weight from one pound to six, and propelled with nearly all possible modifications of charge. It appears, farther, from *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, tome 5, that in recent experiments at Woolwich, conducted by Dr. Gregory and the Select Committee of Artillery Officers, a ballistic pendulum, weighing 7400 pounds, was employed in determining the velocities of 6, 12, 18, and even 24 lb. balls.

What is here said will suffice to explain the general construction of this elegant apparatus. For more particular descriptions, exhibiting the minutiae of the successive improvements, the inquisitive reader may consult Robins's *New Principles of Gunnery*; Hutton's *Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 313, &c.; Sir Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*, p. 38; and M. Dupin's late work on the Military Force of Britain; in which latter work are exhibited accurate representations of the ballistic pendulum now used at Woolwich, as well as of the ingenious *Epreuve*

invented by Dr. Hutton, and described in the third volume of his Tracts.

It is time we should present a few of Dr. Hutton's deductions, which we shall lay before the reader in the Doctor's own words :

" 1st, It is made evident by these experiments, that gunpowder fires almost instantaneously. 2dly, The velocities communicated to shot of the same weight, with different charges of powder, are nearly as the square roots of those charges. 3dly, And when shot of different weights are fired with the same charge of powder, the velocities communicated to them are nearly in the inverse ratio of the square roots of their weights. 4thly, So that, in general, shot which are of different weights, and impelled by the firing of different charges of powder, acquire velocities which are directly as the square roots of the charges of powder, and inversely as the square roots of the weights of the shot. 5thly, It would therefore be a great improvement in artillery, occasionally to make use of shot of a long shape, or of heavier matter, as lead; for thus the momentum of a shot, when discharged with the same charge of powder, would be increased in the ratio of the square root of the weight of the shot; which would both augment proportionally the force of the blow with which it would strike, and the extent of the range to which it would go. 6thly, It would also be an improvement, to diminish the windage;\* since by this means, one third or more of the quantity of powder might be saved. 7thly, When the improvements mentioned in the last two articles are considered as both taking place, it appears that about half the quantity of powder might be saved. But, important as this saving may be, it appears to be still exceeded by that of the guns: for thus a small gun may be made to have the effect and execution of another of two or three times its size in the present way, by discharging a long shot of two or three times the weight of its usual ball, or round shot; and thus a small ship might employ shot as heavy as those of the largest now used."

Such were the conclusions from Dr. Hutton's first course of experiments in 1775: from a more extensive series, which did not terminate till the year 1787, the following were the general results.

" From a general inspection of this second course of these experiments, it appears that all the deductions and observations made on the former course, are here corroborated and strengthened, respecting the velocities and weights of the balls, and charges of powder, &c. It further appears also that the velocity of the ball increases with the increase of charge only to a certain point, which is peculiar to each gun, where it is greatest; and that by further increasing the charge, the velocity gradually diminishes, till the bore is quite full of powder. That this charge for the greatest velocity is greater as the gun is

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\* By the technical word *windage* is meant the difference between the diameter of a ball, and the interior diameter of the gun from which it is fired.—REV.

longer, but yet not greater in so high a proportion as the length of the gun is ; so that the part of the bore filled with powder, bears a less proportion to the whole bore in the long guns, than it does in the shorter ones ; the part which is filled being indeed nearly in the inverse ratio of the square root of the empty part.

" It appears that the velocity, with equal charges, always increases as the gun is longer ; though the increase in velocity is but very small in comparison to the increase in length ; the velocities being in a ratio somewhat less than that of the square roots of the length of the bore, but greater than that of the cube roots of the same, and is indeed nearly in the middle ratio between the two.

" It appears, from the table of ranges, that the range increases in a much lower ratio than the velocity, the gun and elevation being the same. And when this is compared with the proportion of the velocity and length of gun in the last paragraph, it is evident that we gain extremely little in the range by a great increase in the length of the gun, with the same charge of powder. In fact the range is nearly as the 5th root of the length of the bore ; which is so small an increase, as to amount only to about a seventh part more range for a double length of gun.—From the same table it also appears, that the time of the ball's flight is nearly as the range ; the gun and elevation being the same.

" It has been found, by these experiments, that no difference is caused in the velocity, or range, by varying the weight of the gun, nor by the use of wads, nor by different degrees of ramming, nor by firing the charge of powder in different parts of it. But that a very great difference in the velocity arises from a small degree in the windage : indeed with the usual established windage only, viz, about  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the calibre, no less than between  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the powder escapes and is lost : and as the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens that half the powder is lost by unnecessary windage."

It is not a little remarkable that notwithstanding the decisive manner in which Dr. Hutton recommends the diminution of windage, it should not have been adopted in practice till very lately ; and that in consequence principally of the representations of Sir Howard Douglas ; who, having been, as we are informed, a student at the Royal Military Academy, seems now to find an exalted pleasure in becoming the practical and experienced commentator upon the valuable labours of his former preceptor. In part the second of his *Naval Gunnery*, he points out the extraordinary anomalies in the previously received system of windage, and expatiates with great good sense upon their prejudicial effects. He satisfactorily refutes the popular objections to any change, and then proceeds thus —

" The preceding remarks on windage having been brought under the consideration of the Master General of the Ordnance in 1817, his Lordship referred the paper to the consideration of a select com-

mittee of artillery officers, who stated in their report 'that they were very desirous that experiments should be made with a view to ascertain to what extent the benefits which I had anticipated could be realized.' The committee, therefore, proposed to the Master General to be permitted to make a course of experiments on this subject, commencing with field-artillery, and for that purpose recommended that a proportion of shot of various increased magnitudes should be provided. These measures having been approved, a course of experiments was instituted accordingly, 'founded upon the suggestions communicated by me.'

" Having first adopted an opinion, asserted in my observations, articles 49, 53, that the present mode of apportioning a part of the calibre is not so distinct and advantageous, as a fixed quantum expressed in parts of inches for all natures [of ordnance], the committee proceeded to determine what that quantum should be.

" After repeated trials with a 6-pounder, a 9-pounder, and a 12-pounder, at 300, 600, and 1200 yards, it was proved, 'that with charges of powder  $\frac{1}{4}$  less than usual, the larger shot, and smaller windage, produced rather the longest range.' 'Recourse was also had to the ballistic pendulum, to discover the proportional excess of momentum of the larger balls over the smaller; and the result, after a very satisfactory course of experiments, assisted by the scientific research and well-known mathematical abilities of Dr. Gregory of the Royal Military Academy, corroborated the trials by ranges, leaving no doubt of their accuracy.'

" In consequence of these trials the committee fixed the quantity of windage for field-guns at one-tenth of an inch; the same which I had suggested.

" Now it is clear that this improvement may either be applied to save  $\frac{1}{4}$  part of the quantity of powder provided for field-service, without diminishing the power of range, and consequently to economize, without detriment, the means of transport for ammunition: or the alteration may be applied to produce longer ranges, if this be preferred to the economical consideration. This preference has very properly been given, and the established charges adhered to accordingly.

" A great collateral advantage has followed from this correction of windage. It was at first apprehended that the increased effects arising from the additional weight of shot and diminished windage would injure brass guns; but it is quite the reverse. With the reduced quantum of windage guns are much less injured, and will last much longer than formerly; and this has been so well ascertained, that, in consequence of this correction, it is now proposed to abandon the wooden bottoms to which shot were fixed for the purpose of saving the cylinder, substituting for them the paper cap taken off the end of the cartridge. This being put over the ball is quite sufficient to keep it from rolling or shifting, whilst, by supporting or fixing it thus, the centre of the ball coincides with the axis of the cylinder, and the space for windage is reduced to a complete annulus, which admits of the percussion from the charge being equally received, and which

prevents, or very much reduces that injury or indentation which the cylinder receives when the ball touches it on the lower part only." (Naval Gunnery, p. 82.)

An abridged account of the experiments with the ballistic pendulum, to which Sir Howard Douglas refers, is given in *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, tome ix. p. 289, &c. We shall transcribe the results of one day, May 19th, 1818.

The day was dry, but cloudy; the thermometer stood at  $13.3^{\circ}$  centigrade ( $56^{\circ}$  Fahr.), the barometer at 29.9 inches. The pendulum weighed 7008 pounds avoirdupois. The gun was a 12-pounder; its weight 2025 pounds; its length 74.25 English inches; its calibre 4.62 inches.

Number of the Exper.	Weight of the Ball.			Diameter of the Ball.	Windage.	Charge of Powder.			Velocities obtained.
	lbs.	oz.	dra.	inches.	inch.	lbs.	oz.	dra.	feet.
1	12	12	0	4.545	0.075	3	5	6	1548
2	12	12	7	4.54	0.080	3	5	6	1537
3	12	11	0	4.545	0.075	3	5	6	1588
4	12	10	1	4.54	0.080	3	5	6	1507
5	11	11	8	4.42	0.200	4	0	0	1572
6	11	10	4	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1537
7	11	12	1	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1563
8	11	12	1	4.418	0.202	4	0	0	1529

Here it is evident that the velocity corresponding to a windage of .075, or  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch, is at a mean 1568 feet, rather exceeding 1550 feet, obtained when the windage was .20, or  $\frac{1}{5}$ ; though in the former case the charge was less by  $\frac{1}{3}$  part than in the latter.

Assuming the correctness of the results, as tabulated above, we are by no means inclined to agree with Sir Howard Douglas in recommending an adherence to the established charges, viz. of a third of the weight of the ball, after the new rate of windage is completely adopted. Supposing that, *ceteris paribus*, the initial velocity varies as the square root of the charge, a 4-pound charge with the new windage would propel a 12-pound ball with an initial velocity of about 1720 feet, a velocity which would be very effective indeed if the ball were moving through a non-resisting medium, but which experiences a most rapid retardation as the projectile passes through the air. The ex-

resistance no longer accords nearly with the square of the velocity, but, to be correctly exhibited, requires a higher exponent. The reason is very evident. Atmospheric air rushes into a vacuum with a velocity



of about 1346 feet per second, and it, manifestly, cannot make way for a ball moving with a greater velocity than this without being condensed before it. In such cases, the air thus condensed in front of the ball, opposes its motion not only by a simple resistance, but by a force of elasticity proportional to the compression, and therefore rapidly increasing as the velocity of the projectile exceeds 1346 feet. This repulsion soon reduces the higher velocities of 16 or 1700 feet to the limit of from 1350 to 1400, and consequently renders them of scarcely any use in either increasing the horizontal range, or the effective impetus of the ball, except at comparatively small distances from the mouth of the piece. This accords with the experience of our artillery officers when employed in Spain : they found that balls fired with velocities of 1600 feet had scarcely any advantage over those propelled with velocities of 1400 in the destruction of distant objects.

Theorists have long known that the elastic force exerted by the air against *small* bodies moving with considerable velocities, may become so great in proportion to the weight, as not merely to destroy the motion communicated, but even to repel the bodies : and this, indeed, is frequently experienced when small shot are thrown from a musquet by large charges of powder, the shot being driven back in the contrary direction to that in which they were propelled. The same thing, of course, does not precisely happen in the practice of artillery ; but it is a fact strictly coincident with theory, that a smaller charge of powder, by giving the shot less initial velocity, will cause it to fly further than a greater charge, which would propel the ball with a velocity that exceeds a certain limit.

Before we entirely quit the subject of the experiments in reference to windage, we beg to call the reader's attention to a curious fact observed in the course of them.

“ On a déjà fait remarquer, en rendant compte des expériences de 1817 (voyez *Annales de Phys. et de Chim.* tome v. p. 386), que le circonférence de l'ouverture fait par le boulet dans la plaque mince de plomb clouée sur la face antérieure du pendule, présentait toujours *une apparence de fusion*.

“ Durent les nouvelles expériences, le Colonel Griffiths, le Dr. Grégory, et plusieurs autres personnes, ont en outre remarqué qu'au moment précis où le boulet frappait le pendule, il sortait *une vive lumière* de l'ouverture circulaire par laquelle ce projectile était entré. Cet effet avait également lieu, soit que la face choquée fût recouverte d'une feuille de plomb, de toile, ou de papier. L'ouverture faite par un premier boulet dans le pendule ayant été bouchée avec du bois, on plaça tout à côté, une once de poudre qui prit feu lorsqu'un second boulet atteignit l'appareil : la flamme provenant de l'explosion de la poudre succédait immédiatement à la lumière que le choc du projec-

tile développait. Ces effets distincts furent observés trois fois dans un même jour (le 20 Mai, 1818).

“ La lumière qui met ainsi le feu à la poudre provient-elle du frottement du projectile sur la substance qu’il traverse, ou de la brusque compression de l’air atmosphérique sur la face du pendule? Ces deux causes ne contribuent-elles pas l’une et l’autre à l’effet observé? Lorsqu’on décharge un fusil à vent, on aperçoit de la lumière, comme tout le monde sait, à la bouche du canon: n’est il pas permis d’en conclure que si l’on tire un canon pendant la nuit, le boulet marquera sa course dans l’atmosphère par une trainée de lumière? ” (Annales de Chim. tome ix. p. 292.)

We are not aware that the experiment suggested in the last interrogatory has ever yet been tried.

A military officer of some eminence, but, as we should conjecture, sadly defective in mathematical knowledge, has recently proposed the use of short guns, especially in the service of the navy, strangely fancying that the loss of velocity and range that would attend the shortening of the gun would be more than compensated by some suggested peculiarities in the external configuration of the piece. This is utterly repugnant to correct theory, and we believe to correct practice also. The question was put to the test in the Woolwich experiments of 1817, and the result was uniformly and decidedly against the short guns. That additions to the length of the piece should occasion increased velocity of projection, is obviously the joint effect of two causes. 1st. The expansive force of the inflamed gunpowder acts longer upon the ball in a long than in a short gun, and therefore communicates a greater velocity. 2dly. In short guns no small portion of the gunpowder is carried out of the muzzle without being at all inflamed. The lengths, however, must be limited by practical considerations, as well as by the theoretical ones deducible from our quotation a few pages back from Dr. Hutton.

Sir Howard Douglas, who has the happy faculty of confirming his theoretical positions by reference to historical facts, adduces some with a view to this question which we make no apology for citing.

“ Viewing the matter purely as an artillery question, there is no doubt that preference should be given to long guns. As to its application to naval matters, I do not hesitate to recommend, that a frigate which cannot carry 8 feet 24-pounders, had better be fitted with long 18-pounders, than with 6 or 6½ feet 24-s, or with any nature of carronade, exclusively.”

“ The very mortifying situation in which the gallant Sir James Yeo found himself in September, 1813, on Lake Ontario, shows the danger of the carronade system of armament. Sir James states, in his letter of the 12th of September, ‘ the enemy’s fleet of eleven sail,

having a partial wind, succeeded in getting within range of their *long 24 and 32 pounders*; and, having obtained the wind of us, I found it impossible to bring them to close action. *We remained in this mortifying situation five hours, having only six guns in the fleet that would reach the enemy. Not a carronade was fired. At sun-set a breeze sprang up from the westward, when I manœuvred to oblige the enemy to meet us on equal terms. This, however, he carefully avoided.*"

"Captain Barclay states, in his letter of the 12th of September, 1813:—"The other brig of the enemy, apparently destined to engage the Queen Charlotte, supported in like manner by two schooners, kept so far to windward as to render the Queen Charlotte's 24-pounder carronades useless, whilst she and the Lady Prevost were exposed to a heavy and destructive fire from the Caledonian and four other schooners, armed with *long and heavy guns*."

Sir Howard next describes the action of the *Phœbe* with the American frigate *Essex*, as confirming the theoretical view of the business; and adds,

"This brilliant affair, together with the preceding facts, cannot fail to dictate the necessity of abandoning a principle of armament exposed to such perils, and to teach the importance of adapting the tactics of an operation to the comparative natures and powers of arms." (Naval Gunnery, p. 116.)

These extracts will serve to show that this scientific and able officer does not satisfy himself with presenting the rules of his profession dry and naked, but that he teaches his readers how to avail themselves of the most striking warnings, or the most cogent encouragements, fresh as they are exhibited in the naval and military records of our country.

In reference to the resistance of the air, it is too remarkable to be omitted, in any view of the general subject, however cursory, that as on the one hand no complete theory of projectiles can ever be exhibited independently of the law and magnitude of the resistance, so, on the other, adequate experiments on balls thrown from artillery supply us with very valuable approximations to the actual measure of the resistance in the utmost variety of cases. Very careful experiments on the resistances of fluids to bodies moving in them have been made by D'Alembert, Borda, Vince, and others; but Dr. Hutton is the first, nay the only person, so far as we are aware, who has deduced one regular connected law from two independent classes of experiments. For all the lower velocities he employed the whirling apparatus described by Robins, and made by Ellicot; while, for all the higher velocities, from about 300 or 400 feet per second, up to 2000, he most ingeniously availed himself of the ballistic pendulum, by throwing balls into which, at different distances from the muzzle of the piece, and computing the several velocities, he inferred both the law

of the resistance and the numeral value of the co-efficients. Taking the case of balls, the following theorem, so expressed as to facilitate computation, comprises the accordant results of the two independent series of experiments :

$$\text{viz. } r = \frac{d^2}{1000} \left( \frac{3\frac{1}{16}v^2}{400} - \frac{7}{4}v \right)$$

where  $r$  denotes the resistance in avoirdupois pounds in a medium state of the atmosphere,  $d$  the diameter of the ball in inches,  $v$  its velocity in feet. Such of our readers as have not paid some attention to this class of inquiries, will be surprised on reading that a 36 lb. cannon-ball, moving with a velocity of 1600 feet per second, would experience a resistance of 418 lbs., independently of the elastic pressure on the anterior part of the ball, which would be equal to 487 lbs. more; in all, more than 900 lbs.! We most cordially recommend to all students in natural philosophy those portions of Dr. Hutton's Tracts which relate to resistances, as presenting some of the most perspicuous and instructive specimens of physical induction which we have ever seen.

The doctrine of *terminal velocities* grows out of that of resistances, and is as curious as it is important. To obtain a distinct view of this, let the following question be considered. Suppose a ball to be projected vertically upwards with a great velocity, say 1200 feet in a second, will it occupy most time in its ascent or in its descent? If the body be projected in vacuo, or in a non-resisting medium, the times occupied in the ascent and in the descent will be equal; not so, in the actual case of motion in the atmosphere. The ball, so soon as its ascending velocity is extinguished by the joint operation of the force of gravity and the resistance of the air, will begin to fall, and will continue to descend, and for an interval to increase in velocity; yet, it will never acquire the velocity with which it was projected upwards: for the velocity downwards can only increase until the relative weight that urges it in its descent is just balanced by the resistance of the air; after which, there being no further cause of acceleration, the ball will continue to descend uniformly. The greatest velocity which a globe can thus acquire by descending in the atmosphere is called its *terminal velocity*; and it is found by making the analytical expression for the air's resistance equal to that for the relative gravity of the ball. Putting  $g = 32\frac{1}{2}$  feet,  $d$  the diameter of the ball,  $\Delta$  and  $\delta$  for the densities of the ball and air respectively, we have for the terminal velocity,

$$v = \sqrt{\left( 2g \cdot \frac{4}{3}d \cdot \frac{\Delta - \delta}{\delta} \right)},$$

Computations founded either upon this theorem, or upon actual experiments, give, when the barometer stands at 29.9 inches, for the terminal velocity of a 1 lb. ball, 247 feet—of a 4 lb. ball, 311 feet—of a 9 lb. ball, 356 feet—of an 18 lb. ball, 400 feet—of a 36 lb. ball, 450 feet—of a 13 inch shell, 534 feet. The greatest of these terminal velocities falls very far short of the original velocity of projection in the proposed case; whence it is manifest that the time of descent would far exceed the time of ascent.

It is sufficiently interesting to remark that, according to the same theory, the utmost velocity which a hailstone of a quarter of an inch in diameter *can* acquire in its descent, unless it be driven by the wind, is only  $32\frac{1}{4}$  feet; and that, in like manner, the *maximum* descending velocity of a spherical hailstone, an inch in diameter, is but  $64\frac{1}{4}$  feet. How wisely and mercifully ordered!

The knowledge of the terminal velocities of balls and shells of different sizes, enables the artillerist, by a course of reasoning which, looking back upon the space we have already occupied, we must not now attempt to develope, to approximate to the ranges, in all the most useful cases, as well as to determine the elevation which shall give the maximum range; and which, by the way, we may observe is always *less* than the usual theory of projectiles in vacuo assigns. The annexed theorem, which comprehends the whole of Dr. Hutton's useful table, vol. iii. p. 270, is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Elevation for} \\ \text{max. range} \end{array} \right\} = 43^{\circ} - \left( \frac{\text{init. vel.}}{\text{term. vel.}} - 1 \right) 3^{\circ}.$$

The celebrated Carnot, in his work on the Defence of Fortified Places (a work written, as several of our readers may recollect, to please his Imperial master by demonstrating the impossibility of conquering France!) recommends that the besieged should begin to employ what he denominates *vertical fire*, upon the commencement of the construction of the third parallel, and from that period of the siege keep up an incessant discharge of musquetry, and of 4 oz. iron balls, at great elevations, upon the enemy's works, so as to form a shower of shot (*pluie de balles*) upon the trenches. He proposes that the iron balls should be discharged from a number of 12-inch mortars, two of which were to be placed in the salients of each bastion and ravelin, in the front or fronts attacked, each mortar throwing 600 balls at each discharge. M. Carnot imagined that one out of each parcel of 180 balls so thrown would hit a man, and he concluded that it would inevitably place him "*hors de combat*."

At first glance this appears a very formidable mode of defence,

But, on reasoning upon the doctrine of probabilities, it will appear that M. Carnot has estimated the number of effective balls much too highly. But it is more consonant with the tenor of this article to observe, that he altogether overlooked an essential consideration in the principles of projectile motion, and that no Frenchman of science saw the mistake, or at least attempted to point it out, till after it had been exhibited to public view in the animadversions of an English officer, six years subsequent to the publication of M. Carnot's treatise.

Sir Howard Douglas's refutation is very complete; extending, indeed, to other matters besides Carnot's blunder in reference to the vertical fire. Our quotations, however, must relate to that subject alone.

"When (says Sir Howard) I began to consider this interesting problem, as applied to vertical fire, I was soon satisfied that M. Carnot had *entirely overlooked terminal velocity*; and I shall show, from his own words, that this is the case."

This point he confirms; and, after computing the terminal velocity of a French 4 oz. ball, (viz. 201 feet,) he shows that a ball falling with such a velocity would not penetrate more than about one-tenth of an inch into elm timber. He then proceeds:

"Four ounce balls, discharged at elevations even considerably above 45°, to the distance of 120 yards, would not inflict a mortal wound, excepting upon an uncovered head. They would not have force sufficient to break any principal bone; there would be no penetration, but merely a contusion."

In a note Sir Howard details some experiments in confirmation of these assertions:

"A cohœorn mortar was placed 100 yards from six new deal targets laid on the ground, and two new wadmill tilts spread out near them, to estimate by the impression made on them the force with which the balls would fall.

"The first round was with the usual tin case, containing 33 four-ounce balls, with a charge of one ounce of powder, elevation 45°. The case went bodily about 130 yards without breaking.

"Loose balls were then put in over a wooden bottom. After a number of rounds with the above charge and elevation, with different numbers of four-ounce balls, it was ascertained that the cohœorn would throw 42 of them 100 yards, and that the spread was, on an average, about 10 or 12 yards. It was not very easy to hit the targets and cloths, *although they covered a surface of 774 square feet*; but, in one instance, 22 balls left their mark. The indentation on the surface of the deal was so small that it could not well be measured; it certainly was not more than one-twentieth of an inch deep. *A ball thrown with force from the hand appeared to make an equal impression.* Those which struck the wadmill tilt did not penetrate, but merely indented the ground underneath. The penetration of the balls into the ground

(which was of the softest nature of meadow) was, on an average, two inches; but the balls thrown by hand did not penetrate so far.

"The mortar was then elevated to 75°, and with 2 oz. of powder and 42 balls made nearly the same range as before; but the spread was increased to about 40 yards, so that it was very difficult to hit the surface aimed at. Several balls did, however, at length fall on the targets and wadmill tilts. The impression on the former was something increased, but still so trifling as hardly to be measured; *the balls did not go through the cloth*, and the penetration on the meadow was only increased to about three inches." (Douglas's Observations, p. 23.)

This is very decisive; and much more of what is advanced by this scientific and indefatigable officer is equally satisfactory. We have been recently informed that experiments now carrying on by "the Select Committee," will furnish a complete and practical refutation of all that M. Carnot advanced on this his new mode of defence.

M. Augoyat's memoir on the effect of vertical fires contains brief accounts of experiments made in France, at Corfu, and in Russia; all tending to show the inefficacy of M. Carnot's mode of defence. This author also quotes freely from Sir Howard Douglas; avowedly, however, and with the commendation due to his talents and activity. The memoir is followed by two notes, in one of which the author reduces to French measures some elegant approximative formulæ to the actual ranges of military projectiles, first given by Dr. Hutton in the 3d vol. of his Tracts: the other note contains some obvious, but not uninteresting remarks on the nature and efficacy of ricochet-firing. For these we must now refer to the pamphlet itself, having nearly exhausted the space which can adequately be assigned to the present article.

We by no means present this as a complete history of the successive steps by which the theory and practice of gunnery have been improved; but have rather made it our object to select a few of the more leading and prominent points, expatiating most where there has been an obvious connexion between the matter of investigation and some interesting department of physical inquiry. By pursuing this course we hope to have rendered an acceptable service both to military men, and to the younger votaries of genuine philosophy.

In conclusion, we trust we shall not be accused of any unworthy feeling, if we remark that all, or nearly all, which is truly valuable in this department of research has been the produce of Britain. We have no wish to depreciate the labours of Bernoulli, Euler, and others, of whom we have already spoken in terms of deserved commendation; and upon whose genius and attainments we often reflect with admiration. Yet

we do not hesitate to affirm, that were it not for the *practical* turn given to the investigation by Robins, and so incessantly kept in mind, and so skilfully and elaborately carried out to its main professional applications, by Dr. Hutton, gunnery, as a branch of *general science*, would, to the present moment, have been a barren speculation. The great good sense evinced in all the Doctor's inquiries; his cautious abstinence, nay, we might perhaps say, his conscientious abhorrence, of the mere parade of science; his love of simplicity, and his constant aim at utility; stamp a value upon his contributions to science which it is not easy to overrate: and they who are now pursuing the same course of investigation, we believe, aspire to no higher honour than to be regarded, in this respect, as his worthy disciples.

Some of the French philosophers, we understand, affect to call in question the alleged superiority of Dr. Hutton in reference to this class of inquiries: but why, we are at a loss to conjecture. Have *they* advanced the science of projectiles? If so, we would gladly peruse the treatises or dissertations in which the improvements appear. If so, again, why do they so eagerly possess themselves of every essay, investigation, and experiment of Dr. Hutton on the subject, as soon as it is made public? Why do they in like manner, with equal eagerness obtain accounts of all ballistic experiments now conducting at Woolwich? Why do they, thus continue, according to their own adage, *porter de l'eau à la rivière*? In chemistry, in modern analysis, in astronomy practical and physical, much is due to them; and, as we have no desire to deprive them of the honour thence accruing, so neither can we consent to see our own countrymen deprived of their appropriate meed of praise. We have now lying on our table, a treatise which has been much commended in France. Its title is, *Le Mouvement Igné considéré principalement dans la Charge d'une Piece d'Artillerie*. It is intended principally as a refutation of Robins: and the copy which now lies before us was sent by one of Bonaparte's Field Marshals, to a late Master General of the Ordnance, as well deserving the attention of the British Artillery. It exhibits more positive nonsense under the semblance of philosophical discussion, than any work we ever saw, except poor Mercier's fancied refutation of the Copernican system,—so much read and admired by the Parisian loungers about twenty years ago.

That the French did not always affect to think these researches of Dr. Hutton of no consequence, is evident from this fact. During the Revolutionary horrors in 1793, when a decree was passed ordering *all* persons not born in France to quit the Republic, the great and amiable Lagrange, a native of Italy,



was a resident in Paris. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to reform the system of weights and measures; but that was not thought sufficient to detain him. Guyton advised him to claim an exemption on the pretext of his being employed in preparing a report on Dr. Hutton's investigations\* in relation to gunnery; and, being a member of the Committee of Public Safety, he actually procured for his friend an injunction *requiring* his stay, "in order to complete the calculations which he had undertaken with respect to the theory of projectiles." The avowed object of Lagrange was, to found upon Dr. Hutton's experiments and researches a more extended theory than had hitherto been offered; but we are not aware that he ever published any thing of consequence on the subject.

ART. XIV.—*The Life of William Hey, Esq. FRS. &c.* by John Pearson, FRS. FLS. MRI.; &c. 8vo. pp. 669. London, 1822.

WE have singular satisfaction in introducing to our readers this valuable addition to British biography. It is the life of an eminent surgeon at Leeds, from the pen of another eminent surgeon in London; both of them men who have not been ashamed to exhibit to the world their conscientious opinion, that religion is a science with which all persons of whatever profession ought to be acquainted, and the practice of its precepts an art in which all ought to be skilled. The ordinary reader will, perhaps, not thank the author for having introduced into his work many surgical and medical details, not likely to be generally interesting to the public, or in all instances fit for miscellaneous perusal; but the professional reader has not an equal right to censure the introduction of those moral and spiritual topics which belong to *him* as much as to the most unscientific individual, and the importance of which will be felt, when all that relates to the mere physical welfare of the species shall be for ever forgotten. We could earnestly wish that our libraries abounded with books of this character. We possess an ample, not to say a superabundant, stock of sermons and treatises in divinity; nor is the list of books of amusing biography by any means scanty; but we have comparatively little of that useful, yet entertaining, spe-

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\* These could be no more than what were contained in the Doctor's first two papers on the subject, published in the years 1778 and 1786.

cies of reading which combines the two; which, without sermonizing (though certainly Mr. Pearson sermonizes more than would be agreeable to many readers), exhibits religion in her most attractive garb, and seduces us to our welfare by an undorned display of the practical graces of the Christian character.

The excellent individual whose memoir is now before us, was born in the village of Pudsey, near Leeds, August 23, O. S. 1736. At three years of age he was near being burned to death by his dress taking fire; and upon that occasion owed his safety to the presence of mind of a female servant. Some months afterwards, an accident more lasting in its consequences befel him, and which appeared likely to exclude him from ever pursuing with advantage the profession in which he afterwards so eminently excelled. In cutting a piece of string with the edge of the penknife directed upwards towards his face, the point, on dividing the string, penetrated his right eye, and totally destroyed its power of vision. His father was much affected with the simplicity of a remark which he made on that occasion, that "he saw light with one eye, and darkness with the other." The left eye possessed the faculty of vision, in great perfection, to the close of his life.

Mr. Hey's childhood was distinguished by great sprightliness and activity, and gave many tokens of that animation and ardour of character which were conspicuous in all his pursuits. Between the age of seven and eight years, he was sent with his brother John, well known afterwards as Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, to an academy near Wakefield, where he was particularly noticed for his industry and good conduct, by one of the classical assistants, Mr. Dodgson, afterwards Bishop of Elphin. Here he acquired, in addition to his classics, a remarkable taste for natural philosophy and scientific investigation; while under the assiduous culture of his parents, he learned to obey authority, to abhor falsehood, "to keep innocency, and take hold of the thing that is right." Habits of piety also were formed early in his mind, and became the spring of that self-government, temperance, and conscientious regard to his duties, which characterized his maturity, and of that operative devotion which "grew with his growth," and went on increasing to the end of his life.

Young Hey desired at the age of fourteen to go to sea; but concurred in the wish of his parents that he should be placed as an apprentice to a Mr. Dawson, a surgeon, at Leeds, in hopes of becoming, at some future period, the surgeon of a man of war. He continued to conduct himself well, and was particularly diligent in gaining a thorough knowledge of his profession,

even to trying experiments in his own person on the drugs which he was employed to compound; on one of which occasions he took such a dose of Matthew's opiate pill, that it was doubtful whether he would ever taste or administer another.

In 1757 he went to London to complete his professional education; but before we follow him thither, we must extract a passage illustrative of his character and habits while at Mr. Dawson's.

"During the time of his apprenticeship with Mr. Dawson, he never omitted the duty of private prayer, on rising in the morning and retiring at night. This custom exposed him to the scoffs and ridicule of his fellow-apprentice, who would introduce the servant boy into their bed-room to join with him in his mockery of this religious service; but William Hey was not to be intimidated into a dereliction of his pious habits by the impulse of shame, or the dread of contempt. He persevered steadily in his duty; and his firmness soon induced these inconsiderate young persons to desist from their improper behaviour towards him.

"About this period he began to attend the evening prayers at the parish church, whenever his engagements would permit him; and here he met a little company of pious young men, with whom he soon formed an acquaintance.

"Mr. Hey had not yet acquired a correct knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity; for, in a conversation with one of his young friends who was addressing him on the subject of disclaiming all merit, and relying solely on the mercy and grace of the Redeemer for salvation, he replied; "What! Are we not to do our duty?" That an objection of this nature should arise in the mind of a youth, who had not duly studied the representations made in the New Testament concerning the mediatorial office of our Saviour, is not extraordinary; but that many much older than he should, even in the present day, conceive that the doctrine of the justification of a sinner before God by faith in the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ, relaxes the obligations of christian morality, is both surprising and lamentable. It may be remarked as a striking instance of the effect of prejudice, that the same persons who evince this tender concern for personal piety, are often so inconsistent with themselves, as to object strongly against the strict and comprehensive mode of interpreting the precepts of holy living, which is commonly adopted by those who hold the doctrine of gratuitous justification. When it is affirmed, that the pardon of sin and reconciliation with God are to be sought by faith in the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ; then it is alleged, that the obligations of duty would be annulled, and the necessity of good works be surrendered; but, when the advocates of grace insist, likewise, on the indispensable necessity of conversion to God, and of living consistently in a course of righteousness and sincere obedience; it is objected, that so rigorous a conformity to the letter and spirit of Christianity is neither necessary nor binding on Christians in general. 'This devout and holy life,' say they, 'might be very suitable in

the days of the Apostles and primitive converts, but it is by no means adapted to the present state of society.' Whatever may be the source of this self-contradiction, it will imply no violation of courtesy or charity to suggest, that such incongruities may frequently be traced to a defective acquaintance with the first principles of religion, and a most culpable neglect of the bible.

"William Hey was at this period in the habit of retiring, at convenient opportunities, to study the Holy Scriptures, and digest what he read by serious meditation. On one of these occasions, when he was reading the fifth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, his attention was forcibly arrested by the seventeenth verse; 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.' In reflecting on these words, a series of considerations arose in his mind which gave him new and more adequate conceptions of the nature and extent of christian piety. He acquired a more correct and practical understanding of his true state and condition; he saw and felt the necessity of an entire renovation in his heart and affections; he could no longer derive gratification from mixing in scenes of gaiety and amusement; the objects of ambition, vanity, and pleasure, lost their seducing influence: his thoughts were now chiefly occupied and his affections engaged, by invisible and eternal realities; his conversation and manners indicated a deep concern for the welfare of his soul, which induced his less serious companions to withdraw from his society." (P. 4—7.)

Mr. Hey, though a churchman on principle, was induced about this time to join the methodist society. The methodists at that period professed themselves churchmen, and both their preachers and people regularly attended the church service. When their habits became changed, Mr. Hey left them; or, rather, he would say, "they left him." He would frequently, in after life, express the advantage he derived from attending the evening prayers at his parish church. "I often," said he, "look with great pleasure at the place where I was accustomed to sit, and can never forget the happy moments I then enjoyed. The winter season was peculiarly pleasant to me; as the solemn gloom, which seemed increased by the few candles then lighted, tended to sober the mind, and to excite a peculiar feeling not unfriendly to devotion. I was always sure of hearing two good sermons, one from a prophet, and another from an evangelist, (alluding to the lessons) and consequently I never came empty away." Were all professed churchmen as attached to the services of their church as this avowed "methodist," our clergy would not have so often to complain of the vacant pews which distinguish a "prayer day" from a "sermon day." Mr. Hey's churchmanship afterwards became confirmed and consistent.

Mr. Hey's career while in London was marked by unwearied diligence in his application to his professional studies. His attainments in them were unusually extensive, and borrowing

great strength from his sound judgment, firm conduct, and general information, made him above a match for the contempt or ridicule with which his medical companions were disposed to treat his theological principles and strictness of deportment. A young man of religious disposition, who followed him in St. George's hospital, suffered much from the insults of his companions. Mr. Hey, many years afterwards, in a letter to one of his sons, then at Cambridge, alludes to the circumstance with a view to show the duty and importance of a religious student's devoting his mind intently to the literary pursuits of his station. "I always endeavoured," he says, "to be at the head of my class. This diligence ensured me the regard of my teachers, and preserved me from many rude attacks from my equals. This I particularly experienced when engaged in my medical studies in London, where I could not meet with one religious young man in my own profession. But as I took such pains that my fellow students were obliged to consult me in their difficulties, I preserved a considerable check upon their conduct." Mr. Pearson particularly mentions Mr. Hey's firmness of character at this period.

"It was during the period of his studies in London, that Mr. Hey undertook the very difficult task of strictly governing his thoughts; and perhaps very few persons ever exercised such a perfect control over them, as he was enabled to do, from those early days of his youth, to the end of his life. He determined that he would meditate upon a given subject, while he was walking to a certain distance, and that *then* he would turn his attention to some other topic; and he was thus accustomed to pass through the streets of London investigating the various subjects to which his thoughts had been directed by the lectures, or other professional occupations. The effects of this habit remained with him through life; and he found it of admirable use, not only in preserving him from the intrusion of a swarm of impertinent ideas, but in enabling him to form a correct judgment on many points pertaining to divine and human knowledge. The same kind of accuracy was observed in his conversation. He would often discuss a subject with a friend, as they rode in his carriage. In the midst of the conversation Mr. Hey would alight to see a patient; and although this circumstance occurred frequently, he never failed to resume the discussion at the very sentence where it had been broken off, and would thus continue an uninterrupted series of discourse to the end of the argument. An old and intimate friend of Mr. Hey expresses himself thus, on this feature of his character: 'He formed no opinions on any subject, adopted no system of thinking, or acting, without much previous and close attention to it. He never spoke at random, or uttered a sentiment that he had not well considered. This circumstance made him less agreeable as a companion, as it shed a cold and cautious reserve about him, which was felt by the extemporaneous talkers who conversed with him, and left an uneasy suspicion

that they had said something which was foolish, or displeasing to him. Every thing that he produced was already cut and dried in his mind; so that if questioned about any thing that he had not well considered, he either said nothing, or what was undecisive and unsatisfactory." (P. 19—21.)

We must quote one passage more relative to his habits, while a student in London, for the sake of the valuable counsel which it affords to other young men similarly situated.

"Mr. Hey prescribed to himself, while yet a young student, certain rules for the regular dividing of his several employments, and the improvement of his time. He rose early in the morning, and continued this practice, when in health, to the end of his life. He so arranged his occupations, that a particular portion of the day was appropriated to each; and, as far as the nature of the various objects of his studies would admit, he adhered to the rules he had imposed on himself with the most scrupulous exactness. By this orderly succession of business, at home and abroad, the hours of every day were consecrated to an industrious pursuit of useful and important knowledge. These laudable habits, acquired early and strengthened by regular exercise, preserved him through the succeeding periods of his life, not only from the criminal misemployment of time, but gave him a facility of filling up what may be termed the *parentheses* of time, with satisfaction to himself and utility to others. The sabbath-day was strictly and entirely devoted to the service of Almighty God. He never went to the dissecting room, nor would he accept any invitation to visit on that day, that he might not be tempted to deviate from his customary practice of attending divine worship three times; nor disturb his serious frame of mind by the interruption of unprofitable conversation, or the intrusion of worldly concerns. He has been often heard to say, 'that his sabbaths were the happiest of his days, during his residence in London, and that the complete suspending of all his secular pursuits prepared him to resume his studies with renewed ardour and alacrity.' On leaving London he reflected with emotions of gratitude on the goodness of God, which had been manifested to him during his stay in that city. He had been preserved from falling by the various temptations to which his situation had necessarily exposed him. His health had suffered no interruption by his constant and intense application to study; nor had his religious principles been impaired." (P. 15—17.)

Mr. Hey, after completing his preparatory studies in London, commenced business as a surgeon in Leeds. For some time his practice was very circumscribed, and nearly ten years elapsed before his professional emoluments were equal to the moderate expenses of his family. Neither himself nor his friends at that period had any reason to anticipate the extensive reputation which he afterwards acquired. In addition to the ordinary obstacles which in all the learned professions bar the way to celebrity and emolument, till time and favourable

circumstances open a passage for merit, Mr. Hey had to contend with the prejudices excited among his fellow townsmen, by his strictly religious character and connexions. He had also to surmount a somewhat repulsive taciturnity, and a reserve and unbending gravity of deportment, which were ill calculated to gain him popularity. But it is due, no less to Mr. Hey's strength of character, than to his religious principles, to add, that he greatly improved in the secondary duties of address and urbanity in his passage through the world, and that he most evinced the humanizing character of that holy religion which tells us expressly to be courteous, at a period of life when the usual excitements of cheerfulness having gradually failed, mere constitutional sweetness of temper, and the bland exterior of conventional politeness, often give place to peevish irritability.

Still Mr. Hey's surgical abilities could not fail in time to draw him from his obscurity. His biographer states that before his period, scarcely any of the capital operations in chirurgery had been performed in the populous town of Leeds. But Mr. Hey began from the first to encounter the most serious cases, and performed the operation of lithotomy no less than three times successfully in his private practice in the first year of his business. The Leeds hospital was established chiefly by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Hey. He also, in conjunction with his professional friends, formed a medical society, which was found very beneficial in affording opportunities for useful discussion, and for collecting a public medical library. Among his scientific friends, about the year 1768, we find enrolled the name of Dr. Priestley, then resident at Leeds. These two friends in philosophy were public and strenuous opponents on higher subjects. Dr. Priestley, about this time, printed and circulated very extensively, without his name, a number of penny pamphlets, calculated by their familiarity of language and argument to engage the attention and pervert the minds of half-educated persons, Mr. Hey being deeply impressed with a persuasion of the truth and infinite importance of the doctrines attacked in these publications, and not satisfied with the answers which had been printed, published two tracts in reply to his anonymous philosophical friend—the one a defence of the divinity of Christ, the other of the doctrine of the atonement. These little works have had an extensive circulation, and have been well spoken of by good biblical scholars. Dr. Priestley mentions Mr. Hey in the following terms: "The only person in Leeds who gave much attention to my experiments, was Mr. Hey, a surgeon. He was a zealous Methodist, and wrote answers to some of my theological tracts; but we always conversed with

the greatest freedom on philosophical subjects, without mentioning any thing relating to theology. When I left Leeds, he begged of me the earthen trough in which I had made all my experiments while I was there." (Memoirs of Dr. Priestley, p. 63.) Mr. Pearson declines, and so shall we, debating the point whether Mr. Hey's intimacy with Dr. Priestley was justifiable, and whether in the later periods of his life he would have formed it. A perfect knowledge of all the circumstances of the case can alone determine the question: we presume, however, that there are *very few* cases in which such a connexion can be considered as useful or desirable. An inspired monarch determined that his companions should be, as far as practicable, in the sphere in which he was placed, the "excellent of the earth," the "saints who delight in virtue;" and Mr. Hey in general acted so decidedly upon this principle, that we are unwilling to think that he had not strong and sufficient reasons for his conduct in the present instance. It was through Dr. Priestley's recommendation of him to the Royal Society, that he was elected a member of that body. "I wish," said Dr. Priestley, "that one of the members in ten had equal pretensions to that honour."

In addition to the misfortune of the loss of his right eye, already mentioned, Mr. Hey met with another misadventure, which appeared likely to disqualify him, in a great measure, for active life, as a medical practitioner. In 1773 he contracted a lameness, by the effects of an injury in striking his knee against the stone-work of a bath, in rising out of the water; the effects of which were aggravated by a fall from his horse, a short time after. In 1778 he received another blow on the injured limb, in mounting his horse, which confirmed and increased the injury to so great a degree that his lameness became incurable, and he was never afterwards able to walk, more than across a room of ordinary size, without a crutch. The spirit in which he bore his calamity is thus described by his excellent biographer.

"At this period he was fully engaged in business; his reputation stood high as an operating surgeon; persons came from remote parts of Yorkshire to Leeds, that they might be under his immediate care; and he was frequently called to considerable distances from Leeds in cases of difficulty and danger.

"Mr. Hey had now a large family, and was soon to be the parent of an eleventh child; his rising fame presented before him a reasonable prospect of distinction and emolument, as creditable to himself as advantageous to his family. Amidst the full tide of this honour and prosperity, he was disabled from using all active exertions; the remedies which were employed by his own direction, or by the suggestions of his professional friends, were of little benefit to him; and



it appeared probable to himself, and to those who were qualified to judge of his case, that he would never regain the power of walking. Mr. Hey felt this afflictive dispensation of the Divine Providence as every considerate man, in similar circumstances, would feel it; he was deeply affected by it, but betrayed no murmuring nor discontent, no impatience, nor unmanly dejection of mind. His religious principles were now tried, and he was enabled to sustain this visitation with humble submission, and a meek acquiescence in the divine will, relying with an unsuspecting confidence upon the gracious declarations of his heavenly Father.

"In a conversation with an intimate friend, who was lamenting the apparent consequences of a disorder which menaced the extinction of his prospects of future usefulness, he said, 'If it be the will of God that I should be confined to my sofa, and He should command me to pick straws during the remainder of my life. I hope I should feel no repugnance to His good pleasure.'" (P. 46—48.)

His resignation to the awards of Divine Providence, so strikingly exhibited in this passage, was conspicuous throughout his life. Besides the loss of a tenderly-attached wife, he had the melancholy affliction of seeing no less than nine of his children drop around him; some of them under circumstances peculiarly distressing, and several of them after they had arrived at maturity, and entered upon life with every prospect of becoming the ornament and consolation of his old age. But though he felt keenly these successive bereavements, he was never heard to utter any thing approaching a murmur on such occasions. On the morning of the funeral, he would withdraw to the room where the remains of his child were placed, and there, while in solemn acts of devotion he resigned to God the gift which had been recalled, "he would express," says his biographer, "unfeigned gratitude to his Heavenly Father for the comfort he had so long enjoyed, while exercising the trust reposed in him." He was accustomed to say, on the death of his children, that "his ultimate end respecting them was answered, since he had trained them up to become inhabitants of that kingdom into which he trusted they had been mercifully received." He remarks, in one of his letters to his second son, "my fond wishes would fain see an amendment in your sister's health, but her removal hence will only be the speedier possession of eternal glory. I would rather bury all my children, than see them departing from the way of truth and righteousness, though in the highest prosperity."

The professional part of Mr. Hey's life will be found particularly interesting to surgical practitioners, among whom he was well known and highly esteemed, both for his writings and his skill as an operator. We shall, however, prefer extracting a

few particulars respecting his judicial and political career, in which he proved himself as great a public blessing as by his surgical talents.

In the year 1786 he was elected an alderman of Leeds, and the next year was appointed to the office of mayor. The circle included in his jurisdiction contained at that time 50,000 souls, since augmented (as appears from the returns of 1821) to 83,251. With his characteristic vigour of mind, he applied himself to the assiduous study of the law, and obtained a highly respectable share of information in those departments of legal science with which it was desirable for him to become acquainted for the discharge of his magisterial duties. He was particularly active in enforcing the laws relative to blasphemy, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and similar offences against God and society. Though greatly encouraged in his exertions by his late Majesty's proclamation, issued in June, 1787, "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality," he unhappily had to encounter obstacles of so formidable a nature that most men would have despaired of success: every species of opposition, that private chicane and public turbulence could devise, was put in operation to prevent the execution of his wise, legal, and useful plans. He was burned in effigy; his carriage was stopped, the traces cut, one of his horses stabbed, and himself, and his wife, who was with him in the carriage, with difficulty escaped personal violence. It does not, however, appear that he gave the slightest *just* cause for these outrages. His conduct was cool, impartial, and, where there was any hope of amendment, as lenient as the laws of his country and his own oath and duty allowed. Half a century had now passed over his head, and his gravity and steadiness of character exempt him from any suspicion of a zeal without discretion. The judges, with one discreditable exception, upheld both his character and his exertions. The individual excepted, and whose name, for the sake of his office, is not mentioned in the narrative, saw fit, as appears from the minutes of the two counsel employed by the defendant, to charge the jury with a flippancy not often witnessed on the English bench, telling them that Mr. Hey's constables, whose conduct was in question, were "of the reforming kind;" that "reformation generally produces greater evils than it attempts to redress;" that "he did not know that '*damning eyes*' was swearing;" and that the celebrated act against profane cursing and swearing, (19 Geo. 2.) appointed by law to be read publicly in every church and chapel four times every year, "was never heard of by the

public," and that "he himself had never heard of it till he came into that court!"

Mr. Hey outlived this storm; and the excellence of his motives, and the wisdom, dignity, and moderation of his conduct, were at length very generally acknowledged and appreciated. He was again chosen mayor in 1801; and though he was as firm as before in opposing whatever tended to the corruption of good morals, he escaped without public opposition or obloquy, even from the most dissolute of his fellow townsmen, who now knew too well his talents, resolution, and high reputation, to venture to oppose his plans; while from all the friends of religion and virtue he received a degree of regard and veneration which would have intoxicated a man of less sober mind, or less under the chastising influence of Christian principles. He was accustomed to remark, what every person who acts from conscientious motives, in circumstances of difficulty, must have frequently found, that "he had often incurred the greatest obloquy from those actions which had required the greatest sacrifice of feeling to perform, and to which he was conscious nothing could have impelled him but a deep sense of his duty."

His *political* exertions were not less praiseworthy than those which he made as a magistrate in the cause of morals and religion; and indeed they were closely and naturally connected. On this subject we cannot forbear adducing an extract of some length, which conveys many very important lessons, and exhibits Mr. Hey's character in a new and highly interesting light.

"Mr. Hey viewed with concern and alarm the progress of infidel principles, which had been gradually diffused with much art and assiduity through a great part of the Continent of Europe. The admission of these detestable doctrines was necessarily accompanied by a bold profligacy of manners, a hardened depravity of moral sentiment, and every noble, generous, and virtuous feeling gave way to a cold, base, narrow, intolerant selfishness, equally hostile to the principles of justice, the dictates of right reason, and the tender sympathies of humanity. The agency of this malignant leaven had been long silently exerting its influence through different portions of the corrupt mass; and, about this period, the fermentation had acquired a strength and maturity which agitated and convulsed, not the French nation only, but every government within the sphere of its influence. The first shocks and commotions were portentous indications of the explosion of a volcano, which emitted from its bowels a pestiferous vapor, pregnant with disaster, madness, and woe. The ill-constructed and unsubstantial theories of the equality of mankind, of the perfectibility of human nature, of a state of freedom incompatible

with the laws of God, and at variance with all human civil institutions, engendered a spirit of insubordination, a contempt of all authority, a disdain of those restraints, moral and social, which are so essential to personal security and the comfortable subsistence of human society. Such principles and passions quickened into life and activity, under the awe of no repressing or controlling influence, exhibited to a calm, reflecting mind the appalling spectacle of a people impelled headlong, by the fury of a wild and heated imagination, into the most preposterous schemes of ambition, into practices of refined and unparalleled inhumanity, into the wanton profanation of all that was ever held sacred and venerable; affecting a scorn of the common civilities and decencies of life, and rapidly plunging into the lowest sink of grossness, voluptuousness, and brutality.

“ Mr. Hey had studied attentively the constitution of his country, and was thoroughly persuaded that it is calculated to diffuse a beneficent influence over the people who are blessed by the possession of it surpassing that which is enjoyed by any other nation. He had drawn his political principles from the Bible, and considered the practical recognition of the Supreme Being as the great Governor of the world, with a serious regard to the exercise of religion and the obligations of christian morality, as the fundamental supports of every government, without which neither prosperity nor happiness could be reasonably expected. He was consequently surprised and alarmed by the folly and temerity of those men, who, seduced by fanciful and unsubstantial theories, and in the vehement pursuit of irrational and visionary objects, were eager to trample down all former institutions, sacred and civil, to sacrifice all that had been taught by the wisdom and experience of former ages, and to subject the highest and most important interests of mankind to the test of rash and chimerical experiments. Many of his surviving friends may perhaps recollect his remark on the murder of the French King:—‘ I am no prophet; nor shall I probably live to see it; but I greatly mistake, if those sentiments have not gone forth which will shake every throne of Europe to its base.’

“ The philosophical and political creeds which successively sprung up, were imposed and changed until the prolific faculty of French genius itself was nearly exhausted; yet these diversified and misformed productions agreed in one conspicuous tendency, that of conducting their deluded projectors into the barbarous extravagances of anarchy, and the gloomy abyss of atheism. The uninstructed, corrupt, unprincipled part of mankind, were subjects duly prepared to receive and propagate the pestilential feculence; and never were the emissaries of evil more intrepid, active, and zealous in communicating the contagion, and labouring to involve all human beings in the same miseries and horrors by which they were overwhelmed, than at this distracting period.

“ The firmness of Mr. Hey's mind seemed to be shaken; he was oppressed by an unusual dejection of spirits at the prospect of those impending storms, which threatened no less than the entire overthrow of all that was dear to men, as members of society, and the extinction of all that cheered them as candidates for immortality.

Every constituted form of civil and ecclesiastical polity, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed under the sanction of a well-regulated government, and the very existence of religion as the guide of life and the foundation of our most exalted hopes, seemed to be marked for subversion; and it required the utmost exertion of his faith in the power and goodness of God to sustain his mind, under the conflicting emotions by which it was agitated. Mr. Hey was induced by the circumstances of the times, to engage zealously in such patriotic exertions as tended to obstruct the licentious and wicked designs of the enemies of government, and the promoters of disorder and infidelity. He became a politician indeed; but his patriotism was pure and disinterested; he loved his country, he was the friend of peace and good order, and of those civil and religious privileges which belong essentially to our free and happy constitution, and are inseparably connected with a duly regulated liberty. He was no friend to harsh and violent counsels, no favourer of arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; he was not a rash, partial, unguarded declaimer against the persons or the measures which he disapproved; but he laboured to convince the judgment by sound argument, and to gain the heart by friendly expostulation and mild persuasion.

“ Mr. Hey conferred at this juncture with the principal persons of the town of Leeds, on the state and condition of our national affairs, and pointed out the dangers to which the country was exposed, in so clear and convincing a manner, that they were roused to exertion, and both steadily and effectually co-operated with him in opposing levelling and revolutionary principles, and in exciting and cherishing a spirit of loyalty to the government, and affection to the best interests of the state. He maintained a correspondence with several members of the House of Commons, and not unfrequently suggested measures which were finally adopted by the government. Committees often met at his house to deliberate on the best methods of averting and repelling the baleful influence of democratical and atheistical principles, and all the vigour and energy of his character were summoned into action, and directed to the great purposes of promoting the safety and welfare of his country. The patriotism of Mr. Hey being conducted and hallowed by the spirit of Christianity, his exertions for the peace and happiness of the kingdom were combined with regular, solemn, and private intercession with Almighty God; he likewise composed a form of prayer, with which he and his religious friends agreed to supplicate the divine mercy, on a certain evening in every week; and during a period of twenty years he imposed on himself the observance of days of fasting and humiliation in addition to those appointed by the legislature. He considered religion as the grand bulwark of a state, and often expressed it as his opinion, ‘ that a truly righteous nation would be invincible; for,’ he observed, ‘ although men, as individuals, were reserved to the judgment of the last day, yet, as nations could have no existence at that period, collectively, they were rewarded or punished in this world, according to their works.’ As the political principles of Mr. Hey were founded upon the Bible, so the means he employed, and the measures he adopted to

further the great and good designs which he pursued, were consonant with the spirit and genius of Christianity." (P. 134—141.)

Mr. Pearson has devoted a very interesting section to a description of Mr. Hey's "zeal and public spirit in promoting whatever promised benefit to the true interests of mankind." His exertions relative to the slave trade, the Bible Society, the education of the poor, the "Church Missionary Society," and a variety of other beneficial institutions, general and local, were unwearied, and were far beyond what his numerous engagements seemed to render practicable. The following circumstances strikingly exhibit his character at the age of eighty-two years—a period of life at which men are not generally either very zealous in planning new designs of benevolence, which require much labour and pecuniary sacrifice, or very patient in listening to or acting upon arguments urged against their favourite schemes. The circumstances to which we allude were these: The Baptist Missionaries, at Serampore, in India, had stated that they had the literary means of translating the Scriptures into twenty-six new dialects; and that a thousand copies of the New Testament could be printed in each of these dialects at the moderate expense of five hundred pounds. Mr. Hey, impressed with the importance of this undertaking, conceived the generous design of immediately raising, by private subscription, the sum of *thirteen thousand pounds*, to create a fund for the proposed object. This sum he offered to place in the hands of the committee of the Bible Society, for the exclusive purpose he had in view. The committee weighed the proposal with the respect and gratitude it deserved; but, fearful of the precedent of creating a separate fund, and foreseeing many evils likely to result from the adoption of the measure, they declined accepting the gift on any other terms than those of appropriating it at their own discretion. Mr. Hey, dear as was the object to his heart, perfectly acquiesced in their opinion, and proved his charitable feeling on the occasion, by remitting to them the whole of the subscriptions already received, amounting to 1475*l.* without condition or limitation. It may be worth while to add, that the society took up the scheme on their own responsibility, and promised the sum of 500*l.* for the first thousand copies of every approved translation of the New Testament into a dialect of India, in which no translation had before been printed. Some time after, three suitable translations being presented to the committee, the award of 1500*l.* was voted to the claimants; and, by a painful, yet pleasing coincidence, the intelligence of the death of Mr. Hey reached the committee at the very meeting in which this award was pronounced.

Before we conduct our readers to the period of Mr. Hey's death, which we have thus anticipated, we shall quote a passage or two relative to his domestic and private conduct in the discharge of his religious duties.

"When Mr. Hey married and became the head of a family, the first arrangements of his household were modelled by that christian wisdom which had been long the governing principle of his own mind. He conceived it to be not less his duty to provide for the spiritual advantages of those over whom he presided, than to supply their bodily wants. He accordingly established the regular worship of God in his family, morning and evening; at which his apprentices, pupils, and servants, were always expected to be present; and he communicated to them, at other times, such religious instruction as he judged to be best suited to their respective capacities and situations.

"The manner in which he conducted the family devotions was serious and most impressive; he read a portion of Scripture slowly and reverently, now and then offering a very short and pious remark on any particular text that occurred. His prayer was offered up with a devout solemnity and reverence, which indicated his due recollection of the greatness and majesty of Him whom he was addressing. The whole service rarely exceeded twenty, or twenty-five minutes; for he was careful not to make the duties of religion wearisome by protracting them too long.

"On the Sunday evening he would sometimes expound part of a chapter in the Bible, or explain some portion of the service in the book of Common Prayer, or read a plain, practical sermon to his family. On some occasions he would explain and enforce the more important parts of a sermon they had been hearing; and he seldom omitted to improve any affecting incident which had occurred during the week. He was careful to awaken the attention of his family to those sacred seasons for which our church has provided particular services; he considered these appointments as favourable opportunities of impressing the minds of his family with the doctrines and events which it was the more immediate purpose of these offices to commemorate. Mr. Hey regarded it as consonant both to Scripture and the natural constitution of our minds, to celebrate remarkable events at stated times.

"The example of Mr. Hey will prove the futility of those excuses which too many persons employ to justify their neglect of the Sabbath. Few of them have half the engagements which demanded his time, and occupied his thoughts; yet they complain, that they cannot find time to attend the church, and to employ an hour or two in the instruction of their children and households in the important duties of religion. Notwithstanding his extensive practice, and being frequently obliged to visit patients at a considerable distance from Leeds, he rarely missed attending the morning and afternoon service of the church. He always saw as many of his patients as possible on the Saturday; and as they knew his habits and manner of living, they did not expect, unless in cases of necessity, to see him on the Sunday. On this day he was much in private prayer and meditation; he nei-

ther did his own pleasure, nor spake his own words; but the intervals of public worship were filled up by conversing with his family on divine things, and instructing his servants and the children of the Sunday schools." (P. 20—23.)

The old age of Mr. Hey was green and vigorous; his eyesight and hearing continued good; his vocal powers were still agreeable; and his hand-writing remained firm and distinct. He remarked, that he could enjoy all the innocent pleasures of life as much as ever; and that he had not yet found, "though by reason of strength he had *passed* fourscore years," that his strength was as yet, "labour or sorrow." We find him, within a fortnight of his death, visiting patients at the distance of ten or twelve miles from his house, "in addition to the regular duties of the day." He expired March 23, 1819, after a few days' illness. His disorder prevented his conversing with his family and friends in the same collected and instructive manner as he had done on former occasions of sickness; but the little he said was of such a nature as to show his peace of mind, and his unclouded hopes of a blissful immortality, through faith in that Saviour whom he had so long loved and zealously endeavoured to serve.

There are many other particulars in the volume before us, which would well bear transcription or condensation; but we must be contented to quit the subject of the narrative of the compiler, to whom the public is greatly indebted, for a highly useful and interesting record of facts and virtues, which cannot be contemplated by a rightly disposed mind without great moral benefit. Mr. Pearson's own instructive dissertations, interwoven with his work, indicate deep thought and reflection, and would appear doubly valuable, if read with attention after running over the memoir, so as to allow the mind taste and leisure for more orderly reflection than readers are accustomed to indulge in during the progress of a narrative. Medical readers will find in this volume a variety of incidental remarks and discussions connected with the duties and manners of the profession; and we recollect no uninspired volume better adapted to be put into the hands of a young man entering on this line of life, as a manual of instruction in the moral difficulties which often occur in the exercise of his honourable vocation, and as a safeguard to his own personal conduct. The moral and theological reflections are peculiarly excellent; and we trust that the respected author will find that best reward of his lucubrations—the consciousness of having done much good to society, and especially to the younger members of that profession of which he himself is so bright an ornament. We shall only add, that he will do well, in another edition, to give to his work a clearer order, and better chronological arrangement.



## ART. XV.—BAMFORD ON SCHOOL DISCIPLINE.

*Essays on the Discipline of Children, particularly as regards their Education; By the Rev. R. W. Bamford, of Trinity College, Cambridge. p.p. 159. London, 1822.*

WHETHER any new discoveries can be made in the theory of education, we are much inclined to doubt; but that a great practical reformation is necessary, we entertain no doubt at all; and we therefore feel indebted to those who favour the public with the results of their experience, especially when, as in the instance of the work before us, they strongly urge particular points which they have diligently elaborated, and on which their ideas, if not new, are, what is far better, well-matured and practically useful.

The chief topic of Mr. Bamford's publication is the long-tolerated system of corporal castigation, as it exists in too many of our schools, public and private; a topic on which much has been said, and said ably, but which has no where been dilated upon with such abundance of detail, and superabundance of quotation, as in this little volume. The author's facts, reasonings, and citations, all deserve the most serious consideration.

It has often appeared to us a somewhat singular circumstance, that while in other departments of social and civilized life the progress of modern improvement is every where visible, the system of punishments in our schools, for the higher and middle classes of society, very generally continues nearly what it was in the darkest ages. The anomaly is the more remarkable since the introduction of the system of mutual instruction, and the preventive discipline conjoined with the administration of that system, into so many of our schools for the children of the poor. By means of the provisions of the Madras plan, the disgusting exhibition of corporal punishment is banished from these eleemosynary institutions; yet many a nobleman or gentleman who would vote for the dismissal of any master of a village or national school, who should so far forget the genius of the system as to govern his little empire by severity of punishment, instead of by constant vigilance, employment, and prevention, expresses no reluctance that his own son should undergo a weekly or daily flagellation by a duly authorised and classical hand. The plea urged by the master, and usually admitted as incontrovertible by the parent, is—the tyrant's law—necessity. This necessity is learnedly proved by argument, and fortified by prescription. In short, boys always have been flogged; and the country has long flourished under the

flogging system, a practice handed down to us by our ancestors, and incorporated among our other rights, privileges, and franchises.

Our own opinion of corporal punishments has long been, that they very rarely "bless" either "him that gives or him that takes;" and if we had felt any doubt on the subject before, we could not have long addicted ourselves to the somewhat singular but very conclusive pages of Mr. Bamford, without coming to this opinion; not for the mere sake of sparing a few millions of our juvenile successors the tears and tortures which were the lot of their fathers, but for the purpose of improving their character, elevating their motives and principles of action, and rendering our schools somewhat more accordant than too often they at present are with the spirit of Christianity, and the habits of a wise and humane age.

We are as fully aware as the most strenuous advocate for corporal punishments, that they cannot be dispensed with *unless some adequate substitute can be found to perform their office*. If the problem be merely how to conduct most easily a species of intellectual "calking," wedging as much learning as possible into a given hundred boys, with the least labour of mind or body to the instructor, no method, perhaps, is superior to that of allowing them to frame their own morals and manners after their own fashion; to interfere with no practice and to check no temper, however vicious or unamiable, unless it tend directly to disturb the peace of the master, or to defeat the literary objects of the institution; and to exact no other system of duty, than that a boy shall either learn his lessons, or commute for the same by being quietly flogged.

A similar method of managing post-horses is found to answer exceedingly well; and would, no doubt, answer still better, if, like human creatures, they had a mental capacity to discern its reasonableness. If the whole problem be, as we have said, to contrive how the exacted "tale of bricks" shall be most easily obtained, with or without straw, we do not know that a better plan can be contrived than right, severe, and indiscriminate flogging.

Our author begins with examining some of the current objections to the abolition of corporal scholastic castigation. He does not accuse all schoolmasters of intentional barbarity; he states that he himself was once a flagellarian on principle; but Dr. Bell, and his own good sense and experience, convinced him of his error, and he now endeavours to extricate his fellow-pedagogues (we use the word *reverently* and classically) from their injurious predilection. Custom, prepossession, and a supposed necessity, he considers as inclining many school-

masters to the practice, who still are aware of its disgraceful nature and frequent inutility. He states, however, that "the lowest class of masters" are accustomed "to beat without thought or calculation; the rod is the sceptre of their straightforward and simple government. The highest class of masters, (he thinks), adopt severity upon principle, for the sake of the strict obedience and industry which they imagine can on no other terms be secured. Many who view with indignation the practice of passionately chastising children, are yet friends to wholesome "*legitimate whipping*." Mr. Bamford indulges us with some quotations on this subject. One of his authorities (Middendorf) having uttered a preamble, that whereas many boys cannot be managed, "*nisi verbera quandoque exhibeantur et plagæ*," &c. goes on to enact, that they be legitimately flogged, subject to the following cautionary remark, among others; "*Verum ne caput, cæterasque principes atque vitales corporis humani partes per animi impotentiam læderent, et quos ad erudiendum ornandumque susceperant, turpes, mutilos, et ineptos ad discendum redderent, recte a majoribus nostris sanctum est, ut virgis et ferulâ præceptores uterentur, quibus ea membra contrectarent quæ a periculo maxime tuta sunt.*" We pass over the curious anatomical description which follows, to show what parts of the human frame are most naturally adapted to be the proper recipients of chastisement; and shall only remark, that the worthy gentleman quoted did not seem to be aware of the insufficiency of inserting provisos in an enactment, in the administration of which one individual is to be accuser, judge, jury, and executioner, without responsibility or appeal.

Mr. Bamford explains what he wishes, and what he does *not* wish, in the following passage:—

"I feel that by attempting, in any way, to reprobate the mode of corporal punishment, I shall be accused of desiring to invade the right, and diminish the authority of the master, and consequently to allow the boys a boundless and uncontrolled liberty. This is very far from my intention. No one can be a more rigid exactor of discipline, and order, and submission, than I profess to be. I differ in the means of procuring and maintaining discipline; not whether discipline should be obtained. I acknowledge, if an offence be committed, the dignity or authority of the person, against whom the offence is committed, is to be supported and maintained, lest, if it go unpunished, his authority be despised, and his honour impaired."

"Corporal punishment is frequently considered as less objectionable in schools for the lower class of people. But look at its effect in the case of juvenile offenders, after they are relieved from the cognizance of their masters. A boy at school commits a trifling fault, which, most probably, might have been prevented: he is flogged, or

caned over the shoulders. With a restless disposition this may happen, at least, weekly. By being accustomed to it, he learns to bear it. This boy, thus hardened, comes out into the world: he gets leagued perhaps with bad company: he pilfers or swindles: he is ordered to be whipped. Now what effects may this be expected to have? None, but to make him worse. The punishment hardens the offender; he feels after the punishment as degraded as he can be, and is careless of reputation, and of his future actions.

"Again, there is a cry of false humanity, you do them no harm: you had better flog children than suffer them to be vicious. If all other ways failed, rather than the child should be lost, I might reluctantly try, with Tillotson, Sturm, and others, as the last resource, what effect flogging would have; but to belabour him with a stick, or ferula, or taws—to hit him over the head—to pluck his hair—to strike him roughly on his ears, or rudely to pull them—to kick him—to torture his body in any way, for mistakes in learning, for errors in judgment, for little inconsistencies, for deviations from discipline arising from the vivacity of youth, and a neglect of its proper direction and employment, are instances of *real* humanity, which I can neither countenance nor recommend. I had rather endeavour to find some means of prevention, and become chargeable to the cry of false humanity, than practise what is truly false discipline. No steadiness of character can be produced by the rod.

"But then would you deprive all masters of its use? Is there not a mighty distinction between those, who soberly and discreetly apply it in instances of great misconduct and idleness, and those, who passionately abuse lads for some insignificant offence? With the use of the rod I make no qualifications. But yet I wish not to deprive good masters of their discretion to use what mode of correction they may please. If they faithfully labour in their vineyard, and are vigilant to oppose the radication of any evil, they will very seldom, if ever, have occasion to resort to violent measures.

"Do you wish the same licentiousness of conduct, it is said, to be allowed to boys, which so many lawless men at present practise? No, rather than that should ensue, I would recommend them to be flogged a dozen times every day. A perfect obedience and cheerful submission must be secured. I only want this to be done by rational means. I do not wish children to be treated as men; but they may be, must be used, as beings of the same nature with men. Who is there that does not spurn at the idea of flagellatory compulsion? Who, in manhood, would endure, in learning any language or science, the treatment of infancy? We condemn all despotism and feudal right in the government of men, but in the management of children, vehemently support absolute tyranny. They are compelled to obey the arbitrary mandates of those, whose qualifications to govern are frequently not the most appropriate. They are cruelly goaded up the rugged and thorny road of learning.

"But I am asked, why make so much work about a little beating? Do you think that men of learning and good manners are so lost to character, as unfeelingly to abuse children? Do they not speak

against improper whipping, as well as yourself? Not so often as I could wish : but if they do condemn undue severity, it is too often by words, and not by deeds. When in school a large majority exercise little discretion in punishing children ; and their discretion is not unfrequently guided by interest, and not by justice.

“ After all that has been said, and shall be said, unless the sentiments and habits of the country, its punishments and notions of honour, and disgrace, shall undergo great alterations, and a reformation be effected in the mode of teaching schools, it were, perhaps, in vain, to expect children to be educated without compulsion and harshness. Not only are there great defects in the internal organization and conduct of schools, and their instruction, but the moral character, and the dispositions of many masters, particularly of the middle and lower classes of schools, together with the prejudices and inconsiderateness of parents, all unite to perpetuate a multiplied source of present and future evil.”

The author's second essay relates to the subject of scholastic discipline *among the ancient Jews*. This is not only a very curious chapter in itself, but, from the frequent misapplication of the words of Solomon and other scriptural writers, is of considerable importance to a right view of the subject. Our own idea is, that those passages of scripture which seem to enjoin on parents the corporal chastisement of their children are to be taken in reference to the then prevailing modes of juvenile punishment, and are opposed solely to false tenderness and feebleness of discipline. It is preposterous to contend that Solomon meant to inculcate the duty of juvenile scourging for its own sake, or independently of the moral or other useful ends for the attainment of which it is applied, or that he would have thought his precepts slighted if those ends were secured by milder means. If it be necessary to construe and apply all such passages according to their literal import, instead of their general scope and spirit, how are we to explain those kindred expressions used to represent the moral discipline employed by the Almighty for the correction of his disobedient children? Did St. Paul think that Solomon's advice as to the corporal punishment of children was strictly applicable to Christian parents when he urged his Ephesian converts “not to provoke their children to wrath,” but “to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.” The scriptures every where enjoin parents to train their children by firm discipline ; but the expressions employed to enforce this point by no means extend in their spirit beyond the smallest possible degree of coercion that is requisite to effect the desired object. This may afford to be less severe in proportion as the regulations and system of the family or school are judicious, uniform, and vigilantly administered. If, however, the exhortations of Solomon *must* be con-

strued only literally, be it remembered that such an interpretation confines them to *parents*, whose faults in the discipline of their children are not usually those of too great strictness. There is no exhortation to *schoolmasters* to beware of undue lenity, and not "to let their soul spare for the crying" of their tender charge. But let us hear our author on this subject:

"Holy Writ affords us an opportunity of ascertaining the general notions of correction among the Jews. All writers, and particularly the favourers of flagellation, refer to the book of Proverbs for the authority and sanction of so wise a man as Solomon. For nearly 3000 years, masters of schools have quoted, with peculiar complacency, this friend, as they say, of scholastic severity, pluming themselves on his affording them such a reason for their barbarity, as singular wisdom and experience alone could invent; 'He that spareth the rod, hateth his son; but, he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes.' That a parent shews his regard for his children by early correcting their evil inclinations, and training them up in habits of strictness, is perfectly true; but it is fairly disputed whether the degree of parental affection can be justly defined by the literal interpretation of this passage. If, by any other means than corporal chastisement, a father should recover a wandering child, or, by vigilance and foresight, prevent the wickedness that might ensue, his affection in so doing is equally, if not in a greater degree, evinced. But that Solomon thought a parent never could shew his affection except by literally using the rod, or regarded its application effectual of itself, by some inherent faculty or virtue communicated, is too absurd to suppose. Dr. Bell most admirably explains this passage, and thus affords a criterion for understanding others of a similar nature—'Equally insensible to the beauty, the spirit, and the sense of the figurative and metaphorical language of the east, those friends of exclusive flagellation, not only misunderstand, but, unhappily for the back of many a sufferer, pervert the wisdom of Solomon, by a literal interpretation of his expressive aphorism. Ascribing a peculiar charm to the rod, independently of the end for which it is used, they think it sacrilegious to attain that end by any other means. To guard against this practical misapplication of Holy Writ in the economy of a school, I observe, that the rod—the instrument of punishment—is here put for the punishment itself. \* \* \* The true sense of Solomon's aphorism will be found in this, as in every other instance, consistent with sound wisdom. It is, that when offences are committed, and those in authority do not take means to prevent the repetition, and correct the offender, his real interest and happiness are overlooked.'—*Elements of Tuition*, ii. 390—2.

"I cannot think, so prudent a man, and so good a judge of human nature as Solomon, would exhort parents to inflict a severity of bodily pain on infants, merely for that playful vivacity of spirits, which prompts them, oft times involuntarily, to disregard the rules of restraint. The advice he gives in principle, is excellent; but if taken literally, and applied, as it often is, to the daily occurrences of families and schools, is liable to great objection. A most valued

*Commentator*, however, supports him with the assertion, that 'Parents should not spare the rod, if reproof will not do, which is but necessary in very young children: because there is no other means, perhaps, to make them understand the difference between good and evil, decent and unseemly, but only to make them smart for the one, and to give them some sensible pleasure for the other.' Though this opinion may be supported by plausible reasons, yet an able and learned *schoolmaster* tells us, that, 'Nulla videatur ætas tam infirma, quæ non protinus, quid rectum pravumque sit, discat.'—No age seems so infirm as not immediately to learn what is right and wrong, by kind admonition and early culture.—Quin. lib. i. chap. 111.

"But, though it seems perfectly clear, that Solomon comprehended, under the expression of rod, correction in general, as he says in another place, 'Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him;'—(Prov. xxii. 15.) yet it must be confessed, that the Jews, before and in the time of Solomon, did use corporal chastisement in the punishment of offenders; and that he recommended, if not severity, at least, great strictness, to parents in controlling the conduct of their children."

We pass over the remainder of this essay or chapter relating to the ancient Jewish system of education, in order to notice Essay III. on the Grecian and Roman discipline. Of Greece Mr. Bamford remarks:

"The punishments of the different states of Greece, doubtless, coincided with the genius and nature of the people, as well as with the temper of the instructor. Each might have its peculiar honours and degradations. Their schools were mainly modelled on the plan of their national governments. 'Sic in scholis literarum, ut in magno populo leges constituentur, et ita in puerili turba ad laudem præmia, et ad vituperationem castigatio proponatur, quemadmodum in civium conventiculis magnis solet fieri legumlatoribus.'—Sturm.

"Solon, Lycurgus, and the other philosophers and schoolmasters, accommodated their principles for the management of children to their respective political constitutions. With these the modes of punishment most probably corresponded. In some states flogging might be authorised by law. It might, as in our judicial sentences, be ordered for certain trivial offences. The boy, thus suffering according to law, would find it needless to complain, either of the degree of punishment, or of the arbitrariness of its administration. It was sufficient *Καθεύς με τυπτοίται*—You order me to be beaten. Thus sanctioned in the state, it would soon be introduced into their schools. There it might be also supported by rule and precedent: as Demosthenes says against Conon: It has been ordained by the wisdom of our ancestors that all these injuries should be redressed by law, and not by every private man's passion and caprice.'—Grotius.

"It is certain, however, that scholastic (as well as other) exactions were often secured, and obedience enforced, by bodily compulsion; and that deficiency of intellect and conduct was attempted to be supplied by corporal chastisements." (P. 32, 33.)

The extent to which this system was carried, even in places not under the obduracy of Spartan discipline, appears from the following remarks and citations :

"We complain, perhaps justly, of the severity of our modern masters; but if the accounts are true, and I cannot doubt them, which are given of the conduct of the Sophists, who were the chief instructors among the Greeks, and subsequently among the Romans, there is much reason to regret, that they were not more frequently subjected to the restraining hand of the law. For, as Cresollus remarks, they were wont to bind the youthful followers of learning to stakes, to lacerate them by tortures, by the wheel, by the cage, to stretch them on the rack with cords, because they were unable or unwilling to pay the masters. From the variety of their instruments of punishment, from the vehemence and frequency of their application, we cannot but form a very low opinion of the refinement, the humanity, the authority of these famous teachers. Distinguished by their luxury, their cupidity, their irreligion, and other enormous vices, they seem, on the most trivial occasions, to have wreaked the overflowings of their distempered and irascible minds on their unoffending pupils. Custom and usurpation provided them with a systematic gradation of implements, to be employed as opportunity or passion prompted. From the golden slipper to the excoriating whip; from the uneasy posture of the body to the writhing torture—all instruments, all measures, were applied to uphold authority, to gratify malignity, or to extort pecuniary exactions."

"It is clear to every one, says Cresollus, in his luminous *Theatrum Rhetorum*," where he has collected much information on this subject, that all these are most grievous, viz.:—*Τυμπανίζειν*; *καταχορδίζειν*; *προσπατάλειν*; *στρεβλόν*; *αγκιν*; item *παταλοί*, *μάντις*, *βύτης*—to beat with various instruments; to lacerate the body; to bind to stakes; to distort with the wheel; to suffocate by twisting the neck: as are also, posts, whips, thongs. He says, that all masters and *paedagogues* throughout the world did formerly claim the right and power of severely treating those scholars that were dull, and of torturing them as with the rack. Libanius, too, asserts, that parents commonly allowed masters *πανν*, *αγκιν*, *στρεβλόν*—to beat, writhe, and torture their children.

"Themistius says, that unfortunate boys, who, from orphanage or poverty, could not pay the master's remuneration, were bound to stakes or desks, and cruelly tormented." (P. 41, 42.)

Mr. Bamford goes on to quote a variety of authors to the same effect, and brings forward a mass of similar particulars, for which we have neither time nor taste. We must, however, extract, by way of specimen of Roman discipline, the following noble, but we presume not very authentic, catalogue of the scholastic exertions of the far-famed Ortilius, the Busby of Rome, who has come down to posterity crowned with a birchen garland, with the epithet "*plagosus*" tacked to his name by Horace, and the following description labelled over him by Suetonius, "*Fuit naturæ acerbæ, non modo in anti-sophistas,*



quos omni sermone laceravit, sed etiam in discipulos,"—and that not "sermone" merely, but in a more substantial manner, as the catalogue will abundantly show :

"Orbilius had for fifty-one years superintended a large institution in Suabia, with old-fashioned severity. One of his ushers made a calculation, from registers, which he kept, that the said Orbilius in the course of his labours had inflicted

911,500 canings,  
121,000 floggings,  
209,000 custodiæ,  
136,000 taps with the ruler,  
10,200 boxes on the ear,  
22,700 tasks to repeat by rote.

It was further calculated that he had made

700 boys stand on peas,  
6,000 kneel on a sharp edge of wood,  
5,000 wear the fool's cap,  
1,700 hold the rod.

"Orbilius taught in Rome, where he came in Cicero's Consulship; and was the first instructor of Horace." (P. 48, 49.)

The discipline of the children of free persons in Rome does not, however, appear to have been, generally speaking, so severe as the foregoing passages, without a counterpoise, would seem to import. Many of the best Latin and Greek writers speak of blows as fit only for brutes and slaves; as if, by the way, slaves were little better than brutes. Our author quotes several excellent passages on this subject from Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and especially from Quintilian, of the last of whom Erasmus exclaims, "*Quod Ethnicus vir, ut sævum ac perniciosum explosit, nos Christiani libenter recipimus, sævientes non solum in pueros, sed etiam in ætatem pene virilem.*"

We strongly advise the advocates for corporal punishments to study Quintilian, and to imbibe his truly *scholastic* spirit; we mean before *σχολή*—a place tranquil and free from external cares—degenerated, according to the pun of Diogenes, into *χολή*, a place of litigation.

Essay IV. introduces us to various English writers, a few of whose opinions we shall quote. The following curious story from the life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of William the Conqueror, and William Rufus, forms a suitable introduction to the chapter. The passage is translated from the Latin memoir prefixed to Anselm's works; Cologne, 1673:

"*Quodam igitur tempore, &c.*"

"As a certain Abbot, who was accounted very religious, was once talking with Anselm, about the affairs of monastic religion, and, amongst other things, was consulting him about the boys who were

brought up in the cloisters, he added, 'What, I pray you, can be done with them? They are perverse and incorrigible: *day and night we cease not to beat them*, and yet they always become worse and worse.' At which Anselm, surprised, 'Cease ye not,' says he, 'to beat them? And how are they when they are grown up?' 'They are dull,' he says, 'and brutish.' But Anselm says, 'For what good purpose then do ye, who for men have brought up brutes, lay out all your money and care?' But he answers, 'What can we do to prevent it? We constrain them by every means to improve, but all to no purpose.' 'Constrain them, do you? Tell me, Father Abbot, I pray, if you were to set a plant in your garden, and just after, were to shut it up on every side, so that it could in no way extend its branches; and, when, after a year, you should set it free, what sort of a tree would issue thence? Useless, certainly, with crooked and entangled branches. And who would be to blame for this, but you, who so unreasonably confined it? This is just what you do with your boys: they are planted, by oblation, in the garden of the church, that they may increase and bring forth fruit to God. But ye, on all sides, so restrain them with all kinds of terrors, menaces, and blows, that they are not allowed to enjoy the smallest liberty. Therefore, indiscreetly oppressed, they breed, foment, and nourish within themselves, depraved and (like thorns) perplexed thoughts. And they so continue to cherish them, that they obstinately evade all the means which can be administered to correct them. Whence it comes to pass, that, because they perceive in you no love, no affection, no kindness, no sweetness towards them, they have no confidence afterwards of any good in you, but believe all that you do proceeds from hatred and malice against them. By this wretched means, it happens, that as they afterwards increase in age, so hatred, and the suspicion of every evil, increase in them, always prone, and bent to vice. And since they have not been bred in true charity to any one, they are able to look upon no one but with depressed brows and oblique eyes. But, for God's sake, I wish you would tell me, what is the reason that you thus torture them? Are they not men? Are they not of the same nature as yourselves? Would you wish that to be done to you, which you do to them, if, indeed, you had been what they are? But enough. Do you wish to form them to good manners solely by blows and whips? \* \* \* So if you wish your boys to possess ornate manners, it is necessary, that, instead of the depression of blows, you bestow upon them the soothing and comfort of paternal affection and gentleness.' To these things the Abbot said, 'What soothing? What comfort? We labour to constrain them to a grave and steady behaviour.' \* \* \* 'But while the mind is yet fragile in the service of God, it stands in need of tender milk, to wit, the gentleness of others, benignity, pity, cheerful encouragement, charitable support, and much of this kind.' \* \* \* The Abbot, having heard these words, groaning said, 'Truly we have erred from the truth, and the light of discretion has not shone upon us.' And then falling on the earth before his feet, he confessed that he had done wrong, that he was guilty, and requested pardon for the past, and again and again promised amendment for the future.' (P. 57—59.)

The opinion of Roger Ascham next follows; and from the learning and celebrity of that eminent man, it deserves great attention. Ascham formed the idea of writing his principal work, "The Scholemaster," published in 1571, from the following circumstance: In a conversation at which Ascham was present, "Mr. Secretaire" stated that he had "strange news" brought to him, that "divers scholars of Eaton be runne away from the schole for fear of beating." He also took occasion to wish that "a little more discretion were in many schoolmasters in using correction than commonly there is;" adding, that they many times punish rather the weakness of nature than the faults of the scholar, and that they drive persons in future life to hate literature. Mr. Peter, a man severe by nature, replied, that "the rodde onlie was the sword that must keep the schole in obedience." Mr. Wotton, "a man of mild nature, with soft voice and few words," supported the secretary, adding, that "if a rodde carie the fear of a sword, it is no marville if those that be fearfull of nature chose rather to forsake the place than to stand alwayes within the feare of a sworde in a *fonde man's* handling." Some other persons also gave their opinion; and, among others, one Mr. Haddon, who said that the best schoolmaster of that age was "the greatest beater;" alluding to Nicholas Udal, master of Eton school, whom one Tuper, one of his own scholars, has handed down to posterity in the following doggerel lines:

From Paul's I went,  
To Eton sent,  
To learn straightways  
The Latin phrase;  
When fifty-three  
Stripes given to me  
At once I had,

For faults but small,  
Or none at all;  
It came to pass,  
Thus beat I was;  
See, Udal, see,  
The mercy of thee,  
To me poor lad!

The opinion of Ascham will be seen in the following extract:

"In numerous places of his excellent Schoolmaster, he has severely expressed his disapprobation of flogging. He exhorts masters, 'If the childe misse either in forgetting a word, &c. I would not the master either frown or chide with him, &c. For I know, by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two faults, gentlee warned of, than of four things rightlie hitte.' He recommends 'cheerful admo-

nishinge, never leaving behinde juste praise for well-doing.' 'Chide not hastilie, for that shall both dull his witte, and discourage his diligence, but monish him gentelee, &c.' 'Love is fitter than feare, gentlenesse better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learning.' 'Many scholemasters, some as I have seen, moe as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature as, when they meete with a harde witted scholar, they rather breake him than bowe him, rather marre him than mend him. For when the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beat his scholar.' 'Even the wisest of your great beaters do as oft punish nature, as they do correct faultes.' 'A child that is still, silent, &c. when he cometh to schole, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all things; onelie he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learninge, or any other kinde of living. For, in very deede, fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into them the hatred of learninge.' 'They find feare and bondage in scholes.' He beautifully illustrates the reason why, in their diversions, children are happy and gay, but in school they are generally miserable and languid. In the example of Lady Jane Grey, he admirably proves that 'love doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, than fear.' (P. 61, 62.)

Milton's enlightened view of this subject is well known. He was of opinion that if education were rightly managed, masters "would have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture" than they have at present, or at least had in his day, "to hale and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that *asinine feast of sow thistles and brambles* which is commonly set before them." We think, indeed, that Milton was mistaken in supposing he could make the acquirement of Greek and Latin as delightful to our "stocks and stubs" as he intimates in this passage. Some coercion, we fear, will always be necessary to induce the generality of boys to mount that "hill-side," which Milton describes, in a flow of liquid sounds as melodious as the enchantments which he celebrates, as "laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else, so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming."

The witty Dr. South thought that "with some natures," we suppose he means "stocks and stubs," austerity must be used; for which, in his own way, he gives a reason, namely, that in the composition of youth there being a mixture of *man and brute*, it is requisite that while the former is instructed the latter should be chastised. He, however, thinks that to chastise discreetly, and "to the benefit of him who is so unhappy as to need it," requires more judgment than falls to the lot of most schoolmasters; "I mean," he says, "those *Plugosi Or-*

*billi*, those executioners, rather than instructors, of youth, *persons fitter to lay about them in a coach or cart*, or to discipline boys before a Spartan altar, or rather *upon* it, than to do in a Christian school." He exhorts those "pædagogical Jehus," those "furious school-drivers," to take the advice of Phœbus to Phaeton; adding, that "stripes and blows are the last and basest remedy, and scarce ever fit to be used but upon such as carry their brains in their backs, and their souls so dull and stupid as to serve for little else but to keep their bodies from putrefaction."

The discipline of English grammar schools till within the last century was extremely severe, and often indiscriminate; and even the brutality of a Busby was more frequently the subject of modified praise than of the indignation which alone it merited. Erasmus gives the following anecdote, which our author quotes, filling up the blanks with the names of Dean Colet, and his two masters of St. Paul's school, Lily and Rytwise. The anecdote is scarcely credible, and least of all as applied to such a man as the celebrated Colet, whose foundation, whatever it might have been in the days of Lily and Rytwise, has in modern times been conspicuous among our public schools for the decorum and moderation of its scholastic punishments. But the anecdote comes to us with the authority of Erasmus, and may therefore be quoted as a painful illustration of the infatuations of some of our old grammar-school masters who seemed to view corporal chastisement as valuable for its own sake, and the want of it, even when wanted for the best possible reason, that it was not deserved, as the sure road to infamy and ruin.

"I knew a Divine, indeed familiarly, of great name, to whose mind, though he had strenuously flogging masters, no cruelty towards scholars was sufficient. He thought that *ALONE* tended to restrain the wantonness of youth. In his indulgences towards his flock, the comedy was never finished with a joyful catastrophe: for, after they had eaten, one or another was dragged forward to be cut with rods; and, in the mean time, he exercised his cruelty even towards the innocent, to inure them to blows. I myself was once next to him, when, after dinner, according to his custom, he called to him a boy of about, I think, ten years old. He had very lately come to that school from his mother. He prefaced, by saying, 'that his mother was a woman of remarkable piety; that the boy was strongly recommended to him by her.' By and by, that he might have occasion of beating, he began to charge him with I know not what rudeness, though there was nothing like it in the boy's behaviour; and nodded to him, to whom he had committed the government of the College, (who, from his business, was called *Satelles*) that he should beat him. He immediately flogged the afflicted boy, as if he had committed *sacrilege*. The Divine cried out, again and again,

'Enough! enough!' but the executioner, deaf with fervour, finished not his cruelty till the boy was almost fainting. By and by, the Divine, turning to us, said, 'He hath done nothing wrong; but he must be humbled:' for that was the word he used. Who ever brought up a slave in that manner, nay, who an ass?—Erasmus de Puer. Inst." (P. 69.)

In modern times great severity of school punishment has fallen into disrepute, and is comparatively rare. But even where the change of times has effected an improvement in the degree of its application, the *principle* itself often continues unexploded; and is, perhaps, carried into effect as far as circumstances will allow. Among modern writers, Dr. Barrow of Soho school, in his celebrated work on Education, is a warm champion for "legitimate" flogging. He, however, is not insensible to some of its ill effects, and therefore would have it performed in a separate apartment, as, among other reasons, "more conducive to decorum." The "class-fellows of the offender," or the monitors are to be present; and their attendance, he says, "*should always be represented as an office of honour!*" Why not, on the same principle, require the attendance of a culprit's wife and children, as is often done in despotic countries, to witness his execution, and to listen to his groans? Among boys, *if well managed*, there is almost always a degree of public spirit and reverence for the *lex loci*, which will establish the general good opinion in favour of the master, where he acts firmly, moderately, and with good temper; it is generally when piqued into party-spirit that they think their honour concerned to take part with an offender against the common discipline. In the generality of cases the decision of a jury of either men or boys may be safely trusted, provided nothing has been done to awaken feelings in opposition to that sense of honour and justice to which they would otherwise bow.

Essay V. is entitled "Modern Correction." There are in it some excellent passages from the writings of that great friend and valuable benefactor of men and children, Dr. Bell, which we recommend to the consideration of the advocates for legitimate whipping. Dr. Bell has shown that the severity used in so many of our schools is wholly unnecessary; and though those who have been long habituated to the old system may see fit to continue it, and to flog as they were flogged, we think that no younger man is justified in embarking in the work of education without having fully made himself master of the views of Dr. Bell, and other writers of the same class, so far at least as to give their system a fair trial before he resorts to the "*ultima ratio*" of inflicting physical pain. We are not

very far from agreeing with Mr. Bamford, that every stroke is in some measure derogatory to the dignity of the master, contrary to the nature of the child, and destructive of their mutual happiness and affection. We are aware that "happiness and affection" are not terms often heard of in the scholastic vocabulary; but without them the best part of education is neglected. If a child is to be brought up as a Christian, a probationer for eternity, no system that is not founded on something more than a mere desire to make him, willing or unwilling, a scholar,—no system that is deficient in the *nobis* of education, is at all calculated to answer its professed purposes.

Essay VI. entitled "Remarks on Flogging," is replete with useful suggestions and illustrative quotations, woven together in our author's somewhat desultory manner. He puts the following cases:

"Suppose the boy is of a sullen disposition, do strokes mend it? Do they make him more open, docile, and candid? Is he lively? Will they not necessarily break his liveliness? Cannot his sprightliness, his gaiety, be directed so as to be useful? Is he not persevering and exact in his games, because their variety and simplicity delight him? Can no similar pleasure be excited and enjoyed in school? What inherent virtue communicates happiness in the one, which may not be experienced in the other? If the boy be of a generous and noble spirit, how must he be galled and chagrined, by being punished for not doing what, perhaps, 'it was impossible for him to do?' What ideas can those boys entertain of their masters' justice, what dependence on their affection? What regard for their favour and honour, when they find them thus exercising an authority, which, if exercised at all, should be exercised on the guilty and impenitent alone? No master can ever expect a boy to love him, when he chastises him either carelessly or angrily. 'It depresses and alienates the minds of children to punish them for crimes they have not really committed, or even to be severe with them for slight offences. They know exactly, and better than any one, what they deserve, and seldom deserve more than what they fear; when they are chastised, they know if it is within or beyond reason; and immoderate punishments have a worse effect on them than a total impunity.' Bruyere." (P. 91, 92.)

Mr. Bamford asks in his preface what peculiar deficiency in the intellect of youth the application of bodily pain necessarily supplies. This *ratio ad absurdum* is not exactly to the point. It is not intellect, but *application* that is intended to be supplied by the dread, or the infliction, of severity. Now the great object of our author should be, and indeed is, to show, what Dr. Bell and many others have proved indisputably both by argument and fact, that *application* may be ensured by other methods. The following passage from the present Essay contains many useful hints on this subject.

"If boys don't, or as the phrase is, if they *won't mind* their lessons, what is to be done? Why to be sure make them. But here we differ. I think other means more than equally effectual may be used instead of personal violence. You say flog them. But why not flog them to play? Why don't you flog them to do, what is far more tedious and difficult, yet what we see them daily doing with alacrity and cheerfulness? O, you reply, because they are fond of play! Why? Are there no means of inducing them to love the gentle exercise of the mind? Is there no happy method of instruction? Are ingenuous dispositions so hard, so insensible, that no impressions can be effected? Is there in the youthful breast, no spark of energy, no desire to excel, no consciousness of improvement? Yes; but this cannot be always used: you cannot be always coaxing the boys, to their duty. Certainly not. Manage them well without beating; and you will neither have occasion, nor desire to beat. Disuse the art of management, and resort to flogging, and its daily application will be necessary. But he *won't mind* his book! What, when there is no check upon his conduct, no exaction of performance, no attachment to learning, except what a sense of duty and distant advantage may suggest, can we blame, and severely beat a boy, because he indulges his natural vivacity, and diverts his mind from his lessons? If left to himself, in doing any thing, in which he feels no interest, is it surprising that his vigour should relax or his precision fail? It is in the economy of a school, as in all large institutions, that inspection and unceasing watchfulness, and rating of abilities, are necessary to preserve order, and secure the objects of their establishments. If boys are not strictly superintended, can we wonder that they amuse themselves by wandering from restraint? Are we astonished, that when we do not teach them to value their time, they do not feel the importance of spending every moment usefully? If by our negligence we have encouraged habits of indolence and inattention, are we not rather to blame? As Socrates said to one, who beat his servant for being gluttonous, covetous, and idle, did you at any time consider, whether you deserve not more to be *beaten yourself?*" Can we, by a momentary act of extreme punishment, correct what has been the result of time, and gradual indulgence? 'At quo tandem ore, dic quæso, bellua, tu flagris a pueris officium discipuli requiris, cum tu doctoris officium non præstes?' It surely can be no satisfaction to our own minds, that we have, after the habit was formed, or the offence committed, bestowed as much, or more correction, than would at the beginning have prevented it. Yet such is the frequent excuse. I have done all I could. The boy has been negligent. I have punished him. What could I do more? I could not beat him before he did wrong. This is their salvo. 'Nec refert si plagis non emendetur: Modo præceptores et parentes suum fecerint officium.'—*Nor does it matter, if the boy is no better for the strokes; provided masters and parents have done their duty, by using the rod.*

"But what if the lad be obstinate, would you not beat him? No; most likely I should not. I have seen masters, indeed, endeavour by



main force to compel a lad to submit; but I seldom, if ever, knew an obstinate boy cured by whipping. He may, after much cruelty and violence of the master, reluctantly yield; but if he discern that the master is in the least affected by his behaviour, no pains, no sufferings, can overcome him. Every boy knows how far he may act with impunity. A weak, a violent, or a passionate master, is continually troubled by the wiles of boys, whom he has punished without judgment and discretion. How soon do boys know the temper, the ingenuity, the wariness, the learning of their instructor! His conduct, in all its parts, is subject to the acute and prying observations of those, who penetrating into trifles, discern what wiser heads overlook. How do you like your new master, said I to a boy of twelve years old? 'O, we have not tried him yet.' 'It is the only drift of children,' says Bruyere, 'to find out the master's blind-side, and that of any to whom they must be subject; having found it, they build on it, and usurp over them an ascendancy, which they never part with; for what deprived their masters of their superiority will obstruct the recovery of it.' Take not then from children the power of discrimination; and be assured that when a boy is obstinate it is for some reason. Examine your conduct towards him, and his previous behaviour. He has some object in view. Either he perceives you are ill natured or passionate? He cares not to vex you. Or you are indolent? He wishes to be idle with impunity. Or you are weak? He wishes to assume authority. Or you are unjust? He will not submit. An obstinate boy is generally either very clever, or very ignorant; either wilfully impudent, or stupidly perverse. Both may be managed without beating." (P. 93—96.)

Implicit obedience should be the first rule of a school. Children should feel that a preceptor is mild and indulgent, but that he never relaxes in exacting the obedience due to his authority. If children find that the rules to which they are subjected are reasonable and equitable, yet at the same time inflexible, they will bend to them, as a Mohammedan yields to destiny, almost without knowing wherefore. Discipline being thus secured, kindness, forbearance, and affection, may be exercised without danger of weakening the foundations of authority, and to the mutual happiness of both master and scholar. And surely to a gentleman of education and benevolent principles such a mode of administering the affairs of an academy must be far more desirable than a constant scene of irritation, reproach, and warfare. We do not wonder, in the manner in which schools are too often conducted, that instructors dislike their avocation, are anxious to enjoy as many intervals of relaxation as possible, and are much disposed to seize the first opportunity of retiring from the profession altogether. But if a master would really give himself to his pupils, and make it his constant object, and his pleasure, to win their affections, and to form their characters upon the principles of true

Christian benevolence, we can conceive that even this much despised and generally avoided office would have attractions quite sufficient to counterbalance its inconveniences.

The seventh Essay, on "Some of the Causes of Corporal Punishment," traces up this alleged "necessary evil," chiefly to a defective system in the management of children, both as respects their learning and their conduct. A passage or two will put our readers in possession of Mr. Bamford's ideas on this subject.

"As long as the present arrangement of learning is continued in schools, so long will there be this fictitious necessity for using forcible means. The minds of children must be reduced to tasks alike foreign to their disposition, and prejudicial to the gentle exercise and gradual expansion of their capacity. 'Simplification and adaptation to the capacity of the scholar,' as Dr. Bell says, 'is all that is wanting.' Instead of using all the means possible for accelerating progress, and rendering the lessons attainable, by presenting every facility and excitement, preserving a vigilant and never-ceasing superintendence, and exacting constant employment, masters wait till some glaring fault is committed, and then exercise the extreme act of that authority, which should have been all along, at every step, in a more affectionate manner, and in a different way, restraining irregularities, and securing discipline. There is, as I before said, no connecting medium between the learner and the master—no superintendence of behaviour, or rule of honour, which instantly distributes to every action as it arises, its proper meed of praise, or its proper reprehension. Minor offences are disregarded, or outrageously revenged; greater are not prevented; but when committed are punished. So that on this account it appears necessary that force should be used to compel obedience, and command diligence.

"In watching the conduct of the boys, no eye is employed but the master's. Is it not impossible that one man can personally teach, and individually inspect, even 50 or 30 children, without extraordinary exertion? He sits at his desk, (*grege multo septus*) and hears each child read—What are the others doing? He has appointed no representatives to preserve order, or forward instruction, and the consequence is, the greater number are talking and idling away their time: others are lounging or sleeping: some few conning their lessons. The master looks around; enraged at their negligence, he probably begins with a large rod or cane, at one end of the desk, and lays on indiscriminately the whole length. He then returns in scowling majesty, and resumes his teaching, till he is again roused; never presuming to hope, nor daring to think, '*dedi satis superque pœnarum*'—*I have given punishments enough, and more than enough.*" (P. 118, 119.)

"A number of faults proceed from a want of a regular mode of dividing the time in schools, and enacting what is to be done within that time. If this were done, it would prevent much idleness and

disorder, secure a progressive improvement, give an interest to the studies, and instil such habits of industry, value for time, and regularity of acting, as would probably never be forgotten. But while the children are only called upon 2, 3, or 4 times a day, at uncertain intervals, without any exaction, or inspection, and while all laudable excitements are withheld, can we wonder, if even the best of masters find it necessary to use violence? Is it probable that children should of themselves feel the immense importance of giving their whole mind to useful information? (P. 123, 124.)

Mr. Bamford corroborates his opinions with the following passage from Chapman on Education.

“ ‘ As masters can attend only to one of the classes at once, the other classes, and especially the younger boys, will be tempted to prattle, and to trifle away their time; their noise, too, will be very disturbing to the elder and more studious scholars, and particularly to those who are then giving an account of their lessons. Thus the attention of the teacher being diverted from the class which he is examining, he will find himself under the disagreeable necessity of using compulsive methods to silence this noise, and to check this turn for dissipation and disorder. Hence his spirits will be wasted by degrees, and his temper soured. Nor is the situation of his pupils less to be lamented. Tempted to be idle for want of proper assistance, and dispirited by the rebukes and the chastisement, which they receive or dread from time to time, they will be in danger of hardening themselves against a sense of shame, and of contracting an aversion to their book, as well as to their teacher.’ ” 57-8. (P. 120, 121.)

Essay VIII. “ On the Equitable Distribution of Punishment in Schools,” presents the following graphic pictures, which may possibly have more effect on those concerned than the most cogent arguments.

“ The just distribution of punishment is of the greatest consequence in the correction of children. In some extraordinary cases of ill conduct, one might, probably, be led to pardon the master's irritation; and it would be very difficult to limit the number of strokes. But, unfortunately, those who are in the habit of constantly holding a cane or ruler in the hand, revert to it almost mechanically on the slightest occasions. It is wonderful to observe how prone they are to strike. If a boy do not give an immediate answer; if, when called, he come slower than is agreeable to the expectations and wishes of the master; if he make a blot in his copy-book, or mistake in his spelling, or stammer in his reading; if he can be caught looking off his book, smiling, or committing any *other trifling fault*; he is surprised by a tremendous blow, perhaps, on his head with a cane, or on his ears with the hand. Then if, on being taken by surprise, he burst into loud lamentations, the blow is repeated with greater vehemence, and the boy is actually beaten into silence. If, on the other hand, he has been accustomed to such salutations, and should receive the blow without many signs of emotion, it is then repeated on the score of

obstinacy, 'and of not *minding whatever I say or do.*' Masters, I have no doubt, would not dispassionately countenance any inconsistent scheme of punishment. They would wish to graduate the correction according to the scale of offence. But I know, by experience, when a child provokes you, or rather when you allow your passion to be raised, that, without thought, resort is instantly made to the weapon to give vent to the feelings. The criminality of the child is not balanced; he is punished, not according to what he has done, but according to the rage he has excited in our breasts. Some masters, indeed, who profess to be extremely moderate, lay down certain rules for their direction; but by attending, on all occasions, to those rules, no good end of punishment is obtained. For instance, for every blot in the copy-book is assigned one slap or cut on the hand with a cane or ruler, &c.; mis-spelling, one slap; talking, two slaps; second time, three, &c.; six slaps for fighting; nine for lying; twelve for truant-playing. Thus, when a boy has committed any of those errors and offences, he is called up; a few angry and reproachful questions are put to him, he receives his allowance, and the master has done his duty: and very angry he would be, if he were told such a mode was not calculated to prevent, amend, and deter. Other masters, without inquiry, or examination, use the stick for the most trifling aberrations. (P. 139, 140.)

It would certainly be ill judged clemency, by slight punishment, to encourage the audacity of youths. But, in our schools, whatever ill effects may have proceeded from disinclination to punish, it cannot be denied, that many dispositions have been ruined, by excess of hasty striking. Discipline and order are not procured by the cane. I have known some large schools, which were a disgrace to any nation, nurseries of disorderly habits, impudence, and other vices; and yet the masters never had their canes out of their hands, and scarcely ever spent five minutes without using them. They traversed the school-room, first thumping one boy, and then another. Here was a shriek of pain! Here a vain appeal to justice! Here a suppliant struck in the act of kneeling! Here a cry for maternal help! Here a mock shout of woe! Here the blow was received with composure; and, though the master's arm acquired force by application, and the whole school was listening to the sound of the instrument, no cry, no complaint was heard! This wanton and indiscriminate correction deprives the master of all authority. He loses his power by abusing it. If blows could avail, surely there were plenty here! Let masters then consider, before the hand is raised, what the offence is, and the circumstances which accompany its commission, and how far the cane is calculated to procure the object they have in view. The great art of commanding children is, in making them aware, that you understand and know every thing they do or design." (P. 142, 143.)

We have no room for extracts from the ninth Essay, "On Magisterial Familiarity;" or the concluding one, in which the author presses the adoption of the *leading principles*, not necessarily the details, of the Madras system as a remedy for most

of the inconveniences enumerated in his work. We are always glad to witness the extension of principles of justice, humanity, and sound wisdom, come they from where they may, from Madras, Nova Zembla, or Nootka Sound. It is much to the honour of this nation that the "New System" of Education which supersedes the necessity of corporal punishment altogether, or reduces it to its minimum, which minimum may easily be made an evanescent quantity, has so widely spread throughout this island, and from us to various parts of the world. Its effect *must*, we are convinced, ultimately be to banish all instruments of torture from our schools, public and private. The admirers of the old plan may hold out resolutely for a time; but as they die off, prejudice will subside, and human beings will begin to be governed by those higher principles which they hold in common with celestial intelligences, rather than by a disgraceful appeal to the mere brute feelings of animal nature.

ART. XVI.—*The Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott, Rector of Aston Sandford, Bucks.* By John Scott, A. M. Vicar of North Ferriby, and Minister of St. Mary's, Hull. 2d Edit. 8vo. pp. 682. Seeley. London, 1822.

THE account given us, in the above publication, of the late Reverend Thomas Scott, of Aston Sandford, is too important and interesting to bear to be kept back from our readers by any introductory observations of our own. To those who delight in the contemplation of a man without guile, and full of religious wisdom, the narrative will supply its own comment. To those who have no sympathy with these honourable specimens of our nature, Mr. Scott's life will be quite unintelligible, and any labour employed in preliminary remarks would be quite nugatory. If the facts are made first to speak for themselves, they may perhaps prevail with the reader to enter with us afterwards a little into the character which they place before us.

The first chapter of this work comprises "the first sixteen years of Mr. Scott's life," the writer's plan being to take for the basis of his work a *Memoir of his Father's Life*, written by himself, and brought down to the year 1812, from which period he pursues it without such assistance, as nearly as possible upon the same plan. Mr. Scott was born at Braytoft, in Lincolnshire, on the 16th of February, 1747. His father was a

grazier in humble circumstances, with a family of thirteen children, of whom Mr. Scott was the tenth. He received his early education at the endowed school of Scorton, in Yorkshire (at which place the celebrated Henry Jenkins, who lived 169 years, lies buried). The whole cost of his education was only 17*l.* a year; but he properly remarks "the effect of such long separations from near relations is far from favourable to the forming of the moral and social character," of which he then gives several instances in his own case, which show him to have passed his youthful days "without the fear of God before his eyes." In 1762, he left school for an apprenticeship at Alford, with a medical man, who was little better than an infidel, and whom he soon quitted under circumstances which, however, reflected no credit on himself, notwithstanding which, he refers his first impressions in religion to an admonition which even this irreligious master gave him, when on one occasion he reminded him that his misconduct was not only offensive to himself, but "wicked in the sight of God." On this circumstance Mr. Scott, junior, remarks:—

"How far off from himself does Almighty God often find even his most chosen instruments of good, when he first begins to form them for his service! And by what remarkable, what apparently trivial and most unexpected means does he frequently work to reclaim them from their wanderings! Who would have expected an ungodly, and even infidel man, to use such words in remonstrating with an undutiful apprentice? and much more, who could ever have anticipated the effects that were to follow from them when so used?"

It is with this period that Mr. Scott's own account of himself in his "*Force of Truth*," commences, as follows:—

"About my sixteenth year I began to see that I was a sinner. I was, indeed, a leper in every part, there being 'no health in me:' but, out of many external indications of inward depravity, conscience discovered and reproached me with one especially; and I was, for the first time, disquieted with apprehensions of the wrath of an offended God. My attendance at the Lord's table was expected about the same time; and though I was very ignorant of the meaning and end of that sacred ordinance, yet this circumstance, uniting with the accusations of my conscience, brought an awe upon my spirits, and interrupted my before undisturbed course of sin. Being, however, an utter stranger to the depravity and helplessness of fallen nature, I had no doubt that I could amend my life whenever I pleased. Previously therefore to communicating, I set about an unwilling reformation; and, procuring a form of prayer, I attempted to pay my secret addresses to the Majesty of heaven. Having in this manner silenced my conscience, I partook of the ordinance. I held my resolutions also, and continued my devotions, such as they were, for a short time: but they were a weariness and a task to me, and temptations

soon returning I relapsed, so that my prayer-book was thrown aside and no more thought of, till my conscience was alarmed by the next warning given for the celebration of the Lord's supper. Then the same ground was gone over again, and with the same issue. My goodness was like the morning dew that passeth away. With little variation this was my course of life for nine years; but, in that time, I had such experience of my own weakness, and of the superior force of temptation, that I secretly concluded reformation in my case to be impracticable."

Mr. Scott's connexion with the medical profession being thus dissolved, he was actively employed under his father in the most laborious parts of his own business, and frequent illness was the consequence.

"I had now (says he) many serious thoughts of God, and of eternity, and every illness produced a sort of paroxysm of religion, in which having prayed for pardon, in an earnest but ignorant manner, I felt satisfied that I should be happy if I died; though, as soon as I was restored to health, all my religion vanished as the morning cloud."

Which passage is thus further illustrated from the "Force of Truth:—

"Being of a reflecting turn, and much alone, aware of the uncertainty of life, I was disquieted with continual apprehensions that the more convenient season for repentance, to which I looked forward, would never arrive, especially as through an unconfirmed state of health I had many warnings, and near prospects of death and eternity. For a long time I entertained no doubt that impenitent sinners would be miserable for ever in hell; and, at some seasons such amazing reflections upon this awful subject forced themselves into my mind, that I was overpowered by them, and my fears became intolerable. At such times my extemporary cries for mercy were so earnest and persevering, that I was scarcely able to give over; though, at others, I lived without prayer, of any sort; yet, in my darkest hours, though my conscience was awakened to discover more and more sinfulness, there remained a hope that I should one day repent and turn to God, without which I should probably have given way to temptations which frequently assaulted me, to put an end to my own life, in proud discontent with my lot in this world, and in mad despair about another."

The second chapter embraces the period "from his apprenticeship to his ordination." After his return from Alford he became a mere drudge to his father, but even then found intervals of study, for which he had few other helps than some torn Latin books, and a Greek grammar. In 1772, a circumstance of disappointment determined him to apply for ordination. On obtaining introduction to the archdeacon, Dr. Gordon (the bishop's examining chaplain), he kindly entered into his situation and circumstances, and undertook to mention his case

to the bishop, Dr. Green, who on his first application for orders declined to ordain him, but encouraged him to apply on a future occasion. After obtaining, with much difficulty, his father's consent (which was amongst other things required by the bishop) he received Deacon's orders in 1772, and Priest's in 1773. Mr. Scott was, however, at this time far from that state of mind and heart which he afterwards deemed essential to so important a charge. We shall leave him to give his own account of it.

"The Force of Truth," he observes, "sufficiently explains the state of my heart and my conduct, as it must have appeared in the sight of God, in this most solemn concern of my ordination; and it suffices here to say, that, considered in all respects, I deliberately judge this whole transaction to have been the most atrocious wickedness of my life. But I did not at the time, in any degree, regard it in this light; nor did I, till long after, feel any remorse of conscience for my prevaricating, if not directly lying, subscriptions and declarations, and all the evil of my motives and actions in the whole concern. Yet a sermon preached by a young man, who was ordained priest at the time, on the office and duty of a minister, attracted my attention; met my approbation; and I think, on reflection, was of some use to me. I feel assured that good sermons on such occasions, concerning the ministerial office and duty, especially if preached by seniors, would produce very important effects on young men, too often thoughtlessly assuming a sacred character, without having ever been seriously admonished of their duty and responsibility."

Some passages from the *Force of Truth* may here again be advantageously noticed.

"At this period," the author says, referring to the time when he lived at home with his father, subsequently to his apprenticeship, "though I was the slave of sin, yet, my conscience not being pacified, and my principles not greatly corrupted, there seemed some hope concerning me: but at length Satan took a very effectual method of silencing my convictions, that I might sleep securely in my sins; and justly was I given over to a strong delusion to believe a lie, when I held the truth that I did know in unrighteousness. I met with a Socinian comment on the Scriptures, and greedily drank the poison, because it quieted my fears, and flattered my pride. The whole system coincided exactly with my inclinations, and the state of my mind. In reading this exposition, sin seemed to lose its native ugliness, and to appear a very small and tolerable evil; man's imperfect obedience seemed to shine with an excellency almost divine; and God appeared so entirely and necessarily merciful, that he could not make any of his creatures miserable, without contradicting his natural propensity. These things influenced my mind so powerfully, that I was enabled to consider myself, notwithstanding a few little blemishes, as upon the whole a very worthy being. At the same time, the mysteries of the gospel being explained away, or brought down to the



level of man's comprehension, by acceding to such proud and corrupt, though specious reasonings, I was, in my own opinion, in point of understanding and discernment, exalted to a superiority above the generality of mankind; and I pleased myself in looking down with contempt upon such as were weak enough to believe the orthodox doctrines. Thus I generally soothed my conscience; and, if at any time I was uneasy at the apprehension that I did not thoroughly deserve eternal happiness, and was not entirely fit for heaven, the book afforded me a soft pillow on which to lull myself to sleep. It argued, and I then thought proved, that there were no eternal torments; and it insinuated that there were no torments except for notorious sinners; and that such as should just fall short of heaven, would sink into their original nothing. With this welcome scheme I silenced all my fears.

"In this awful state of mind I attempted to obtain admission into holy orders! As far as I understood such controversies, I was nearly a Socinian and Pelagian. While I was preparing for the solemn office, I lived, as before, in known sin, and in utter neglect of prayer; my whole preparation consisting of nothing else, than an attention to those studies which were more immediately requisite for reputably passing through the previous examination.

"Thus, with a heart full of pride and wickedness, my life polluted with many unrepented, unforsaken sins; without one cry for mercy, one prayer for direction or assistance, or for a blessing upon what I was about to do; after having concealed my real sentiments under the mask of general expressions; after having subscribed Articles directly contrary to what I believed; and after having blasphemously declared in the presence of God and of the congregation, in the most solemn manner, sealing it with the Lord's supper, that I judged myself to be 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take that office upon me,' not knowing or believing that there was any Holy Ghost, I was ordained.

"I had considerable difficulties to surmount in obtaining admission into the ministry, arising from my peculiar circumstances; which likewise rendered my conduct the more inexcusable: and my views, as far as I can ascertain them, were these three: a desire of a less laborious and more comfortable way of procuring a maintenance than otherwise I had the prospect of; the expectation of more leisure to employ in reading, of which I was inordinately fond; and a proud conceit of my abilities, with a vain-glorious imagination that I should some time distinguish and advance myself in the literary world. These were my ruling motives in taking this bold step: motives as opposite to those which should influence men to enter on the sacred office as pride is opposite to humility, ambition to contentment in a low estate, and a willingness to be the least of all, and the servant of all; as opposite as love of self, of the world, of filthy lucre, and slothful ease, is to the love of God, of souls, and of the laborious work of the ministry. To me, therefore, be the shame of this heinous sin, and to God be all the glory of overruling it for good, I trust, both to me, and to his people, the church which he hath purchased with his own blood."

Upon this part of his father's narrative, Mr. Scott, jun. ob-

serves, "It cannot fail to be interesting to all who take pleasure in tracing the means by which Providence accomplishes its designs, often rendering the evil passions, or evil conduct, of man subservient to the display of the goodness of God." And further, "Let me earnestly solicit a most serious attention to it, from all those of the clergy who may never yet have taken such solemn views of their own office, and of the temper with which it should be undertaken. Many persons of this class are known to have been brought to a new, and, I must be allowed to call it, a better sense of the subject, by what my father has already laid before the public concerning his own case; and my prayer is, that that case, when thus newly and more fully presented, may be attended with like effects to many more."

The notice of the following incident, minute in itself, but important in its results, closes the second chapter:

"One circumstance, very trivial in itself, was so important in its consequences that I am not willing to pass it over. At the sheep-shearing which followed my disgraceful return from Alford, in 1762, a small ewe lamb, marked with a black spot on the side, in rather a peculiar manner, attracted my notice; and my father, being probably in high good humour on the occasion, gave it me; and, though kept among his sheep, it was branded as mine. Though I was always nearly moneyless, and never possessed a guinea in my life, till I was above twenty years old, I never yielded to the temptation of selling any of the lambs which this ewe brought me; so that by management, in exchanging male lambs for young ewes, notwithstanding the loss of nine of my little flock in one year by the rot, I possessed sixty-eight sheep, besides lambs, when I attempted to obtain orders. These, after many objections, my father purchased for £68; and this constituted the whole of my fortune. I had not a friend in the world who offered to advance me five pounds in my exigency; and I verily believe, that, if the success or failure of my application had depended upon it, no one would have been found able and willing to advance money sufficient for my expenses. When my father had granted his consent, I had no expectation, and perhaps, after all the vexation which my ill behaviour had caused him, I had no fair reason to expect that he would give any thing further. But, with this £68, I bought needful books; boarded myself for some time at Boston; procured suitable clothes; paid all travelling expenses, and those attending my ordination; and entered on my curacies possessed of twenty guineas; a sum which at that time was indeed to me considerable. On such trivial incidents do the most important events depend. Without this lamb and the sheep, which in this way I acquired, as far as I can see, my whole plan of entering into holy orders must have failed."

The third chapter comprises the time "from his ordination to his marriage," and gives a striking view of the intenseness of his studies under very contracted advantages from books and men at Stoke Goldington and Weston Underwood, of both

which parishes he was curate. His views of the ministerial character and duties were here much elevated by the perusal of Bishop Burnet's *Remarks on the Clergy*, of which he says :

"I was considerably instructed and impressed by it. I was convinced that my entrance into the ministry had been the result of very wrong motives ; was preceded by a very unsuitable preparation, and accompanied with very improper conduct. Some uneasiness was also excited in my mind concerning my neglect of the important duties of that high calling ; and though I was enslaved by sin, and too much engaged in other studies, and in love with this present world, to relinquish my flattering pursuit of reputation and preferment, and to change the course of my life, studies, and employments, yet, by intervals, I experienced desires and purposes at some future period to devote myself wholly to the work of the ministry in the manner to which he exhorts the clergy."

The next chapter details the important change which now took place in Mr. Scott's views on his changing the curacy of Stoke for that of Ravenstone in 1775. At this place, he says,

"I resided about two years, and it proved, as it were, a Bethel to me. (Gen. xxviii.) Here I read the Scriptures and prayed. Here I sought and, I trust, found, in a considerable measure, the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. I was not indeed brought to say with unwavering voice, as Thomas did of old, 'My Lord, and my God ;' but I learned to count all but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ. Here first I was made the instrument of bringing several persons earnestly to ask the all-important question, 'What must I do to be saved ?' and here I learned, in some degree, to give the scriptural answer, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'"

Previously, however, to this happy state of things, Mr. Scott had been much exercised with doubts and scruples relative to the necessary subscription to the articles, in prospect of some preferment which then presented itself. The Athanasian creed was his stumbling block ; and, though he afterwards came fully to discern, and unreservedly to confess, the pride and folly by which he was influenced in rejecting this "form of sound words," the result of his early struggles was, that he positively refused to subscribe, and thus, with an increasing family, deliberately gave up all hopes of advancement in the church. "My scruples (says he) remained insuperable till my view of the whole system of Christianity was entirely changed—my objections to the articles were, as I now see, *groundless* ; much self-sufficiency, undue warmth of temper, and obstinacy, were betrayed in the management of this affair, for which I ought to be humbled. But my adherence to the dictates of my conscience, and holding fast my integrity in such trying circumstances, I never did, and, I trust, never shall repent."

A correspondence with the late Rev. John Newton, which

took place at this time, led to the happiest results in convincing Mr. Scott of the unscriptural nature of his early views of the "holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity—three persons and one God." Of this correspondence his biographer observes, "Letters written in the crisis of such a conflict, which is known to have had such an issue, and laying open the whole soul of the writer, cannot fail to interest any one who takes pleasure in studying the workings of the human mind, and the operations of divine grace upon the heart."

Our limits preclude any further notice of this correspondence than to observe, that it is no small triumph of truth when a laborious student, and an acute reasoner, is brought to confess that human learning and divine wisdom are two distinct things; to submit his pride and prejudices to the humbling doctrines of the gospel of Christ, and to become a faithful preacher of those fundamental verities of the Church of England, which he once disbelieved, and on account of which he had, in the days of his ignorance, refused subscription to her articles and formularies.

We find Mr. Scott, in 1777, occupying the same house at Weston in which the poet Cowper afterwards resided, and receiving, as his patrimony on the death of his father, the humble pittance of 170*l*.! It was in this year that Mr. Scott's religious inquiries were brought to a decisive result upon points of doctrine, while, in reference to the fruits of faith, greater seriousness of mind, and a more affectionate concern for the souls committed to his charge, appear to have characterised his conduct. An incident which then occurred with regard to his favourite practice of card-playing, as it determined Mr. Scott to abandon that habit, may not be without its use to others. The first person at Ravenstone to whom he had reason to believe his ministry had been decidedly useful, ventured to tell him that another person professing religion had justified card-playing as a harmless custom by observing, that Mr. Scott played at cards.

"This," says he, "smote me to the heart. I saw that if I played at cards, however soberly and quietly, the people would be encouraged by my example to go further; and if St. Paul would eat no flesh while the world stood rather than cause his weak brother to offend, it would be inexcusable in me to throw such a stumbling-block in the way of my parishioners. I declared my fixed resolution never to play at cards again; and let me observe, that the minister, who would not have his people give into such worldly conformity as he disapproves, must keep at a considerable distance from it himself. If he walk near the brink, others will fall down the precipice. When I first attended seriously to religion, I used sometimes, when I had a journey to perform on the next day, to ride a stage in the evening, after the services of the Sabbath; and I trust my time on horseback was not spent unprofitably.

But I soon found that this furnished an excuse to some of my parishioners for employing a considerable part of the Lord's day in journeys of business or convenience. I need scarcely add, that I immediately abandoned the practice on the same ground on which I resolved never more to play at cards, even before I thought so unfavourably of them as I now do."

Mr. Scott's new vicar objected at first to the length of his sermons, and afterwards to his writing so many new ones; observing, on the first point, that he knew many clergymen who preached 15, 12, and 10 minutes; to which Mr. Scott replied, that he feared they were in jest, but that he was *in earnest*. To the vicar's observation, that, for his own part, he had written, when he was ordained, 55 sermons, which had served him very well ever since, though he had been above 50 years in orders, Mr. Scott remarked, that he hoped he had during that long period grown much wiser, but that he had effectually precluded his people from profiting by his improvement.

Some interesting letters follow in the sixth chapter, illustrative of Mr. Scott's conduct under affliction, and of his anxiety for members of his family at that time in a worldly state of mind. On the loss of a child he observes:

"If I can judge by myself, and my way of thinking before I was a parent, I can fancy you saying, 'There is no such great loss, nor such a mighty resignation in being willing to part with a little infant, that seems well out of the way.' Thus I used to think; but it comes nearer a parent's heart than you can imagine: and it would be no easy matter to me to submit patiently to this loss, were it not that I assuredly believe that, as the Lord knows best what is good for me, so he is engaged by promise to make all work together for my good; and were I not also assured (which too often one cannot be concerning deceased persons,) that he is now a blessed spirit in heaven; from whence, if they in heaven have knowledge of the concerns of those they leave behind, he looks down with a mixture of pity and astonishment to see how ignorantly, I had almost said enviously, wishing him a sharer of his vain enjoyments, embittered with numberless sorrows, and defiled by continual sins."

The loss of another child of peculiar promise suggests the following remarks:

"I have felt more than ever I felt before of that grief which springs from being bereaved of one much beloved; and my heart bleeds, if I may thus speak, at every remembrance of her. But I do not grieve as one without hope: hope of meeting her in glory, and spending a joyful eternity together. I do not grieve so as to indulge grief or complaining, or think (with Jonah) I do well to be angry, because my darling gourd is withered. God hath done well, and wisely, and graciously; and whilst my heart is pained, my judgment is satisfied. I do not now wish it otherwise. She might have lived in some way or other, to have

filled my soul with bitterness, and to have brought down my grey hairs (if I live to grey hairs) with sorrow to the grave. I do not grieve so as not to rejoice: I rejoice to recollect what I cannot now particularize of her amazing understanding and answers, teachableness and conscientiousness; which makes me not doubt that she was, in a measure, like John the Baptist, taught by the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb; for none could speak and act as she did but by the Holy Ghost: I rejoice to think that I have two children adopted into God's family, taken home to his house, and filled with his love. It is a high honour, and I ought to rejoice in it. Dearly as I love my only remaining babe, and much as I long to keep him, I had rather see him die, as my poor dear little girl did, than live rich and honoured, without he live the life of a true Christian. She has got free from all that I long to be delivered from, and has attained all that I am longing for. I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me. You mention the *supposed* loss of your sweet babes. Whilst I pray God to preserve them to you, and you to them, I cannot but advise you to rejoice in them with trembling, and to be often preparing, in thinking and praying concerning it, for a separation: for we are tenants at will concerning all our comforts. When you call them sweet innocent creatures, I hope you only mean comparatively, and to our apprehensions; not forgetting the words of our catechism, that we are 'born in sin, and the children of wrath.' The youngest needs the blood of Christ to wash away the guilt, and the spirit of Christ to cleanse away the pollution of sin: and they should be taught, as soon as they know any thing, to consider themselves as sinners, and to pray for the pardon of sin, and a new heart and nature, in and through Jesus Christ. This my poor babe did by herself alone, as duly as the morning and evening came."

Mr. Scott is next presented to us as the curate of Olney; before his becoming so, however, he had with very scanty means been enabled to administer to the temporal as well as spiritual necessities of the poor of Ravenstone then suffering from the ravages of the small-pox. After expending more in this service than a poor curate, with a rising family, was perhaps strictly justified in doing, an unexpected supply of money from distant and unknown benefactors calls forth the following remark: "This convinced me that there is no risk in expending money in an urgent case and from good motives, and that a penurious prudence, springing from weak faith, is impolicy as well as sin." Mr. Scott here adopted the plan of a week-day sermon, and observes upon the practice: "I think many pious ministers, esteeming it hardly worth while to preach to a few, forget the *εὐκαιρὸς ἀκαιρὸς* (the 'in season and out of season,') of the apostle, and lose a most important opportunity of 'edifying' their little flock in their most holy faith. They preach the Gospel on the Sunday at large, but they do not attend to our Saviour's words, teaching them (their converts) to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

In the eighth chapter we find Mr. Scott, in his Letters, entering a decided protest against the errors of Antinomianism :

"Sure I am," says he, "that religion is in many places wofully verging to Antinomianism, one of the vilest heresies that ever Satan invented; our natural pride and carnality being both humoured and fed by it, under the plausible pretence of exalting free grace, and debasing human nature. But, whilst Antinomians talk of the grace of the Gospel, they overturn all revealed religion. The whole scheme, which derogates from the honour of the divine law, cherishes the propensity of our corrupt nature to excuse self, extenuate sin, and cast blame upon God; the enmity of loose professors against searching, practical preaching, is full proof of it; and by God's grace I purpose to spend my whole life in bearing testimony against it. In this work we must expect no quarter, either from the world or some kind of professors. But we need wisdom equally with zeal and boldness. If we are faithful, we shall be called self-willed, self-important, obstinate. The clamour we may condemn, but let us watch and pray against the thing itself. They will say, we speak and act in our own spirit; let us beg of God continually that they may have no just reason to say so. They will say we are legal; but let us by preaching Christ, and dwelling clearly and fully on the glorious scheme of free redemption, and its peculiar doctrines, improving them to practical purposes, confute them. They will say that our 'scrupulosity' in practice springs from self-righteousness, and a pharisaical spirit. Let us then carefully avoid extremes; laying too much stress on little things, and censoriousness; rather condemning false practices by our conduct. The Arminian is not at all secured from Antinomianism, nor the Calvinist exposed to it by their several tenets; seeing both of them are Antinomian just as far as they are unsanctified, and no further; "because the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be." Perhaps speculating Antinomians abound most among professed Calvinists; but Antinomians, whose sentiments influence their practice, are innumerable among Arminians. All these, in various ways, take occasion from the mercy of God to encourage themselves in wickedness. It would, therefore, be unspeakably better for all parties to examine these subjects with impartiality, meekness, and brotherly love, than reciprocally to censure, despise, and condemn one another. Upon mature deliberation I am convinced that the preaching of the present day is not practical enough, or sufficiently distinguishing between true and false experience. I, therefore, speak more fully than most do of the moral character of the Deity; of the excellency, glory, and loveliness of that character as described in the word of God. From this I deduce the reasonableness and excellency of the holy law of God, which I endeavour to open in its extensive requirements. Thence follows man's obligation to love God, both on account of his infinite loveliness, and of our natural relations and obligations to him. Then I demonstrate the evil of sin, as apostasy from this glorious God and King, and transgression of his perfect law. Thence I show the justice of God in the infinite, the eternal punish-

ment of sinners ; it being necessary that God should mark his hatred of this hateful thing, magnify his holy law, and show his justice, that he might appear glorious in the eyes of all for ever. Thus I suppose I dig deep to lay the foundation for the Gospel of free grace ; the necessity, nature, and glory of the vicarious obedience and sufferings of Emmanuel ; the sufficiency of his own sacrifice, and his ability and willingness to save to the uttermost all that come. Thence I show that all who will may come, 'ought to come, and that all sin atrociously in not coming' ; that, however, it is in no natural man's heart to come, because each man is proud, selfish, worldly, and carnal ; therefore, all are without excuse. But a God of sovereign grace, having mercy on whom he will, according to his own purpose, makes some willing by regeneration. This changes the prevailing bent of the heart, and henceforth the man is not only humbly willing to be justified by faith, and saved by grace, but hates and repents of sin, loves God's law, loves holiness, and leads a holy life, sincerely and progressively, though imperfectly, receiving from Christ daily grace so to do ; and that all experience which has not this effect is false. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire."

Mr. Scott quitted Olney in 1785, on the earnest invitation of several persons in London, for the Chapel of the Lock Hospital ; a station at that time by no means enviable on account of the parties into which its government was split, and of very inconsiderable emolument. A letter from a lady to his biographer may give some idea of the nature and extent of his Sunday labours at this period.

" At four o'clock in the morning of every alternate Sunday, winter as well as summer, the watchman gave one heavy knock at the door, and Mr. S. and an old maid-servant arose,—for he could not go out without his breakfast. He then set forth to meet a congregation at a church in Lothbury, about three miles and a half off ;—I rather think the only church in London attended so early as six o'clock in the morning. I think he had from two to three hundred auditors, and administered the sacrament each time. He used to observe that, if at any time, in his early walk through the streets in the depth of winter, he was tempted to complain, the view of the newsmen equally alert, and for a very different object, changed his repinings into thanksgivings. From the city he returned home, and about ten o'clock assembled his family to prayers : immediately after which, he proceeded to the Chapel, where he performed the whole service, with the administration of the sacrament on the alternate Sundays, when he did not go to Lothbury. His sermons were most ingeniously brought into an exact hour ; just about the same time, as I have heard him say, being spent in composing them. I well remember accompanying him to the afternoon church in Broad-street (nearly as far as Lothbury), after his taking his dinner without sitting down. On this occasion I hired a hackney-coach : but he desired me not to speak, as he took that time to prepare his sermon. I have calculated that he could not go much less than fourteen miles in the day, frequently the



whole of it on foot, besides the three services, and at times a fourth sermon at Long-acre Chapel, or elsewhere, on his way home in the evening: and then he concluded the whole with family prayer, and that not a very short one. Considering his bilious and asthmatic habit, this was immense labour! And all this I knew him do very soon after, if not the very next Sunday after, he had broken a rib by falling down the cabin stairs of a Margate Packet: but his heart was in his work; and I never saw a more devoted Christian. Indeed he appeared to me to have hardly a word or a thought out of the precise line of his duty: which made him somewhat formidable to weaker and more sinful beings. His trials, I should think (as you would have me honest with you), were those of temper. Never, I often remarked, was there a petition in his family prayers, for any thing, but the pardon of sin, and the suppressing of corruption. His life, and labours, and devotedness, kept him from much knowledge of the world, but the strength of his judgment gave him a rapid insight into passing affairs; and upon the whole I should be inclined to say, he was one of the wisest men I ever knew. You know more than I can do of the nature and habits of his daily life. I can only say that, when fatigued with writing, he would come up stairs, where the Bible was generally open, and his relaxation seemed to be, talking over some text with those whom he found there: and I can truly declare that I never lived in a happier or more united family."

Mr. Scott, jun., in adverting to the haste with which his father's sermons appear to have been composed, observes:—

"No one who heard him would complain of crudeness or want of thought in his discourses: they were rather faulty in being overcharged with matter, and too argumentative for the generality of hearers. Indeed an eminent Chancery lawyer used to say that he heard him for professional improvement, as well as for religious edification; for that he possessed the close argumentative eloquence peculiarly requisite at the bar, and which was found to be so rare an endowment. Nor did the bustle of the streets of London occasion any interruption to his meditations: he would generally rather prepare his sermons walking, than in his study."

The 10th Chapter details at large the commencement and progress of Mr. Scott's laborious commentary on the Bible—a work which would alone transmit his name to posterity. His difficulties were great indeed, and calculated to appal any man of ordinary courage; but, in spite of every obstacle, he lived to see three editions published, and was engaged from 1818, till the commencement of his last illness, in revising another edition now printed in stereotype, and forming, perhaps, the largest work ever submitted to that process.

"It was fully prepared by himself for the press to the end of 2 Timothy iii. 2: and for the remainder he left a copy of the preceding edition, corrected, though less perfectly, to the very end of Revelation; from which the work has been finished, according to his

own final directions, and in concert with his family, under the care of a person who had been his literary assistant in carrying it on, and in whom he placed entire confidence.

"Besides these English editions, amounting to at least twelve thousand copies, I have received," (says Mr. Scott, jun.) "from an American Bookseller of respectability, the particulars of eight editions printed within the territories of the United States, at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Hartford, from the year 1808 to 1819, amounting to twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty copies: besides an edition of the sacred text without notes, but with references, contents of Chapters, and introductions to the several books of scripture.

"The retail price of all the English copies, taking their number as above stated, (which I believe to be short of the truth), would, I find, amount to the sum of £67,600: that of the American copies to £132,300: making together £199,900. Probably no theological work can be pointed out, which produced, by its sale during the author's lifetime, an equal sum."

A sum of this magnitude, considered in connection with the fact so fully established by his biographer, that after the adjustment of every claim, a very inconsiderable portion of it ever found its way into the pocket of the author, who lived and died in comparative poverty, may serve to remind us that the greatest benefactors to the world have not always found their reward below. It is, however, only consistent with their professions that they should have looked for it elsewhere; and if we may judge from Mr. Scott's own correspondence, it seems that this was peculiarly his case.

The conclusion of this Chapter records the second marriage of Mr. Scott, which took place in less than the usual period after the death of his first wife, to whom he was strongly attached. His biographer, however, considers this early change in his father's situation to have been, under his peculiar circumstances, completely capable of vindication.

In 1792 Mr. Scott considered himself called upon to oppose the infidel and revolutionary doctrines then abroad, which he did in three Pamphlets. "The Scripture Doctrine of Civil Government, and the Duties of Subjects." "The Rights of God"—and "A Vindication of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and their Doctrines, in Answer to Paine's Age of Reason." The first and last of these were repeatedly printed here, and in America. On sending the first to a Dissenting friend, Mr. Scott observes:—

"I think that our Constitution is like a good old clock, which wants cleaning, regulating, and oiling: but that to knock it to pieces, in order to substitute a new French watch in its place, the going of which has not been tried, would be impolitic and even ridiculous:

yet multitudes are bent upon this, and I fear bloodshed will be the consequence. I must also think that many religious and respectable Dissenters have expected too much, in a world of which the devil is styled *the god and prince*; and where protection and toleration seem the utmost that God's children can hope for. Many also, both Dissenters and others, have meddled too much with such matters; and I grieve to see that the prejudice, which this has infused into the mind of religious people in the Church, is likely to widen our unhappy divisions; for they will not make proper discriminations."

Again: "The way for the people to reform the government obviously is, by choosing, without any recompence, the most honest men they can find for members of parliament: but if the senator's votes are bought by ministers, the elector's votes are bought by senators, not only in the rotten boroughs, but in capital cities and counties; and almost every voter, like Esau, sells his birthright, and then is angry that he has it not. If we could see that the counties and large cities and towns made an honest use of their privilege, and that bribery was the effect of inadequate representation, I should then be of opinion that a reform would do good; at present, I fear it would make bad worse, at least no better: for who almost is there that does not vote from interest rather than from judgment."

"I am rather a favourer of a limited monarchy, but would not be severe on a merely speculative republican; though I think silence in that case, is a duty, while the providence of God continues us under a monarchy; and I can find nothing in history that should render any but the ambitious warrior, or the avaricious merchant, fond of a republic. I am sure that republican Greece, Rome, and Carthage, shed human blood, and multiplied crimes, to increase wealth or extend conquest, even as much as absolute monarchs: and their intestine oppressions and divisions were equally calamitous."

Again:—"As to the weight of taxes it is so great, that most of us feel and lament it: yet freedom from war in our borders, from bloody persecution, from famine, and pestilence, should render us patient and thankful."

Speaking of Bishop Watson's Answer to Paine, Mr. Scott observes:—

"I have not treated him so genteelly as the Bishop of Landaff has, who, though he said many good things, seems to give up the point as to the entire inspiration of Scripture, and pretends not to answer objections to the doctrines."

Of his *Essays on the "Most important Subjects in Religion,"* Mr. Scott saw eight or nine editions published in England, besides those in America. This work, which was always a favourite both with its author and the public, was first published in numbers, of which Mr. S. computed that he had printed about one hundred and twenty thousand for sale and gratuitous distribution.

One important instance of the usefulness of this work in the case of a literary and philosophic character, who was by its means reclaimed from sceptical principles, and established in the practical and effectual faith of the Gospel, has, since the author's death, been announced to the world in the brief memoir of Dr. Bateman the physician, which is, however, only one among many proofs of the happy effect of his writings.

Mr. Scott is next recorded as taking a principal share in the formation of "the Church Missionary Society to Africa and the East," in 1800, in conjunction with the Rev. Messrs. Venn and Goode, and that distinguished layman Mr. Henry Thornton—a Society which, from the humblest and least promising origin, has now attained an importance which could not have been anticipated, even by its warmest friends, in the infancy of its existence.

Some voyages which Mr. Scott made between London and Malgata for the benefit of his health in 1796, introduce him to the reader in a new situation.

"His conduct," says his biographer, "amid the motley groupe on board of these vessels, was strikingly characteristic, and produced a variety of interesting or amusing occurrences, of which I can furnish but a slight account. He determined, if possible, to make the scene, on which he was entering, an occasion of usefulness. Instead, therefore, of retiring within himself, in a sort of dignified silence, as a clergyman might feel inclined to do under such circumstances, he sought conversation. He observed and inquired into all that passed; made himself acquainted with the parts of the vessel, and the process of managing it, the course steered, and the various objects to be noticed. He held himself ready to take advantage of all that occurred. He rebuked immorality, and encountered scepticism and infidelity (then as at present frequently avowed), wherever they presented themselves. Thus he aimed to gain attention, and to find an opening for the instruction which he desired to convey. In general he succeeded. Frequently he entered into argument against the corrupt principles of the day, both religious and political; on which occasions, by uniting, as he could readily do, much vivacity, with his accustomed force, and always maintaining good temper, (for he determined that nothing should affront him), he generally drew a company around him, carried conviction to many by-standers, and often silenced his opponents. The discussion commonly terminated in a distribution of tracts, chiefly his own publications, which he always carried with him in travelling, for the purpose. His maxim was, that, if his books sold, he could afford such a dispersion; if they did not, he was only giving away waste paper. It may be added, that his conduct on board gained him much esteem among the sailors, who always welcomed him, and described him as the 'gentleman whom nothing could make angry.'

"Though, however, he would never be offended himself, even by scurrility and abuse, yet he sometimes deeply offended others, by

reproving their impiety, or exposing their attempts to defend what was contrary to good morals. On other occasions, the result was very different; and once, at least, at the request of the company, he expounded and prayed with them in the cabin, while the vessel lay at anchor.

"Few of us, I presume," says his son, "would feel ourselves competent to adopt such a line of conduct, in a similar situation: but let us not therefore censure what is above our reach. In one who could worthily sustain this part, and was induced to do so by zeal for God, and unfeigned love for the souls of men, I must pronounce it highly honourable. We may venture to say also that it is borne out by the highest examples. What other than this was the mode of teaching employed by the Prince of the philosophers, by one of the chief of the apostles, and by Him who was greater, beyond comparison, than all sages, and even than all inspired apostles?"

There appears occasionally much valuable matter in the correspondence by which various periods of Mr. Scott's life are illustrated by his biographer; and the following advice to that individual, when at college, may not be without its use to others.

"You have hitherto been kept greatly out of the way of worldly associates, and assure yourself you have lost nothing by it; for the more they are known, the clearer must be the conviction to every reflecting mind, that they can be of no advantage to a man, in any sense, without a tenfold greater disadvantage. Endeavour, therefore, to cultivate a courteous, kind, and cheerful disposition and behaviour, towards all sorts of persons; avoiding moroseness, affectation, and singularity, in things indifferent; but admit no one to your familiarity, who does not seem to you, and to more experienced judges, to have the fear and love of God in his heart. Conciliate by an amiable deportment, such as are strangers to the ways of religion, in order to allure them up to your ground; but take not a single step down upon their ground; lest instead of your drawing them out of the mire, they draw you in. If you act consistently and prudently, and by a moderate attention to your studies, in subserviency to the one thing needful, and to future usefulness, secure a reputable standing in the college; the careless or vicious may affect to despise you, but in their hearts they will respect you. I say a *moderate* application; for I apprehend that very great exertions are not only injurious to the health and spirits; tend to form a man to habits that are unpleasant, or to a kind of oddity; and exceedingly interfere with the growth of grace and every holy affection in the soul; but they counteract their own end; blunt and overstretch the mental powers; and after surprising progress for a time, incapacitate a person for making any progress at all. Ambition of distinction, more than love of knowledge, is the spur to this too eager course, but neither one nor the other should be your *primum mobile*; but a desire to acquire that competency of useful knowledge, which may fit you for glorifying God, and serving your generation. This will also teach you to take care of your health and spirits; to accustom yourself to corporal as well as mental exertion (the want of which is severely felt by most of our ministers who are academical

men); to cultivate that kind of behaviour, which may render you as acceptable as truth and conscientiousness will let a man be in this world, the want of which is one of my principal disadvantages; and so to travel on at a sober rate, without over-pushing the horse at the beginning of the journey. Excessive eagerness in any particular study has also this disadvantage; that it is apt to render a man rather *learned* than *wise*, or even *knowing*; as over-eating renders a man full, but does not nourish him. They who read too much do not digest: they learn what others say, but they do not make it their own by reflection, or *distinguish between the precious and the vile*. But moderate study, with frequent pauses for reflection, useful conversation and exercise, adds more to real knowledge, and leaves time to apply it to practical uses. You certainly should not waste time; but stinting yourself to so much of this or the other every day, may cramp you; render your mind uncomfortable, and unfit you for the exercises of religion, without which nothing else will really prosper. I would advise you to write your own thoughts on subjects frequently, and try to get the habit of doing it in Latin: it may be of use to you some time, beyond what you now perceive. But whatever you read or write, compare all with the Bible: study divinity as a Christian, and as one intended to be a minister; and other things only in subordination to it; for this is your *general*, and your *particular* calling too."

Again:—"I think you are very right in cultivating general knowledge. I trust, however, you will not neglect the peculiar studies of the place, so as not to appear with credit on proper occasions. The object in all your studies should be, neither celebrity, advantage, nor knowledge, for its own sake; but furniture to enable you to serve God and your generation; and as much credit as may give weight to your endeavours of that kind. Any friend that has cultivated general knowledge successfully, will give you hints on the best method of doing it; and *gleaning* seems to me an important matter. Learn from every body: be selfish in this respect: get all you can, not only from superior men, but from the most inferior. But be sure you compare all your real or supposed knowledge with the word of God. If real, it will elucidate, and be elucidated by it; if not, it will be detected and exposed by the touchstone. At some time or other, I would advise you to study well the evidences of revelation; not merely in a general way, but so as to be master of the subject. Perhaps it may be soon enough at present: but it is a matter of great importance in this age especially.—Above all, cultivate personal religion. Let nothing be an excuse to your mind for being slight in that matter. Even useful labours for the good of others may be separated from diligence in the concerns of our own souls: but it is this which must bring a blessing on all else, and cause it to proceed with life and vigour."

"Of all kinds of learning, none seems more important, than an accurate knowledge of the two languages, which the Lord has honoured by giving his sacred oracles in them. As to mathematics, they doubtless have their use; but a moderate proficiency in them is enough for your purpose. I must own, I feel in my best moments, that I had rather be the author of the Discourse on Repentance, than of Sir

Isaac Newton's Principia; for the salvation of one soul gives joy in heaven, but we read not that angels notice philosophical discoveries. Yet learning of every kind, if attended with humility, and subordinated to the one thing needful, may be very usefully employed in the service of the truth: and some of Christ's servants should be learned men; for others can seldom have access to the learned, or to those who would be thought such: and there are many important services which learned men alone can perform."

In adverting to Mr. Wilberforce's "Practical View," Mr. Scott writes—

"It is a most noble and manly stand for the Gospel; full of good sense, and most useful observations on subjects quite out of our line; and in all respects fitted for usefulness; and, coming from such a man, it will probably be read by many thousands, who can by no means be brought to attend either to our preaching or writings. Taken in all its probable effects, I do sincerely think such a bold stand for vital Christianity has not been made in my memory. He has come out beyond all my expectations. He testifies of the noble, and amiable, and honourable, that their works are evil; and he proves his testimony beyond all denial. He gives exactly the practical view of the tendency of evangelical principles, for which I contend; only he seems afraid of Calvinism, and is not very systematical: perhaps it is so much the better. It seems, likewise, a book suited to reprove and correct some timid friends, who are at least half afraid of the Gospel, being far more prudent than the Apostles were; or we should never have been able to spell out Christian truths from their writings. But it is especially calculated to show those their mistake who preach evangelical doctrines, without a due exhibition of their practical effects. I pray God to do much good by it! and I cannot but hope that I shall get much good from it, both as a preacher and a Christian."

Mr. Scott, speaking of an imprudent marriage, observes:—

"The principles and plan of modern education are such, and I have so long made my observations on the effect of them, that I cannot but suspect the mother has, in some degree, been guilty of Eli's fault, which brings sore calamities on families, and especially on the families of religious people. *Self-will* is natural to us, and if indulged, it gathers strength with our years, and at length will brook no control. Children, like young colts, must be broken in; and the sooner the better. The child that has *early* been constrained to give up its will to that of a parent, will, without severity, be trained to a *habit of submission*, which will not easily be broken through when he is grown up, even though he want religion effectually to produce submission to God. But the *reverse* is modern education, and especially among religious people."

On recovering from illness, Mr. S. thus writes:—

"I never had so violent an attack of the asthma before. For many hours of two successive nights, it was all but absolute suffocation; and the sense and dread of that were continually present to my mind.

Yet I bless the Lord, I was not left either to murmur or despond. I had very serious apprehensions of immediate death; though I said nothing to those around me: and all my cares, plans, hopes, (as to this world,) and every thing, except my wife and children, seemed quite out of sight. I had not any *sensible* comfort; yet I thought of dying, without emotion; though the idea of dying by suffocation seemed formidable. I felt the grand concern to be safe, and was willing to leave all below, to have done with suffering, sin, and temptation. I did not feel much of what the Apostle mentions, of *DESIRING to be with Christ*; and I was convinced, for that very reason, that my Christianity was of a small growth; yet I trusted that it was genuine. I tried to commit all I loved, and all I had laboured to effect, into the Lord's hands; and I thought of recovering, as a sailor, just about to enter harbour, would of being ordered out to sea again. Yet I was willing, if the Lord saw good. This was about the state of my mind. I could confusedly recollect very many things to be humbled for, and ashamed of; but nothing that impeached the sincerity of my professed faith in Christ, and love to him; and, though conscious of very many faults, and imperfections in my ministry, I was also conscious that I had honestly sought to glorify God, and save souls, in preference to all worldly interests. My hope was that of a sinner, throughout saved by grace; yet I was satisfied, that the aim of my heart and the tenour of my conduct, since I professed the Gospel, evidenced that I had built on the sole foundation by a *living* faith. The vanity of all worldly possessions, distinctions, connexions, and enjoyments, never so forcibly impressed my mind, as on this occasion. The folly of shrinking from that hardship or suffering, which the frown or scorn of men can inflict on us, for faithfulness, appeared extreme, when I felt how easily God could inflict far sharper sufferings, if he saw good. The reality and importance of eternal things shone on the scenes around me, so that the crowds of noble and affluent sinners, following the steps of the rich man in the Gospel, appeared the most miserable of wretches. Transient pain taught me emphatically the value of deliverance from *eternal* misery, and endeared the love of the deliverer, who voluntarily endured such pain and agony for us vile sinners. The evil of sin, the happiness of the poorest true Christian, and the little consequence of the smoothness or ruggedness of the path, provided we come to heaven at last: these things, and others connected with them, have not, for many years at least, so impressed my mind. Pray for me, that I may not lose these impressions, but, if spared, may live, and preach, and pray, and write in a manner, somewhat less unsuitable to the vastly important services I am engaged in: for *who can be sufficient for these things?* May you be a wiser, holier, more faithful, and more useful minister, than ever I have been! Oh, keep the concluding scene in view every step of the way, and judge of every thing by it. The evils I have protested against in health appeared to me far, far more pernicious, as I lay gasping for breath, than before; and I seem to rejoice in the hope of entering further protests against them."



We now find Mr. Scott succeeding in 1801 to the small living of Aston Sandford, which it is shown could never have netted him 100% a year! It was here that he added the Sumboo and African languages to his former stock, after the age of fifty-three, for the express purpose of fitting the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society for their destinations; and it was from this small parish, consisting of only about seventy inhabitants, that he was enabled to raise above 303% for that society, in six collections. The Bible Society also shared his warmest attachment, and it is thus that in a speech at High Wycombe he expresses himself concerning the precious volume distributed by that society.

“The Bible is *the light of our feet, and the lanthorn of our paths*; our guide in youth, our comfort in old age, our antidote against the fear of death. The longer I live the more I feel for those who have not the word of God. I am growing old, and feel the infirmities of age. I know I must soon die. I am a sinner against God. I must appear before him in judgment. I must exist for ever in happiness or misery; but I can find no light, no hope, no comfort, except from the Bible, and that Saviour whom the Bible reveals to me. While, then, the Bible is our own invaluable treasure, the source of all our knowledge, hope, and comfort, let us do what we can to communicate the precious treasure to others also, all over the world. We can do but little, individually, it is true; yet great multitudes, cordially uniting, may effect much. Time was, since I can remember, when, if I had possessed the means in other respects, I should hardly have known how to *reach out* the blessing beyond my own contracted circle. But this society, and others of a similar nature, so to speak, *lengthen my arms*; and, by concurring heartily in the designs of those who conduct them, we may stretch out our hands to the inhabitants of the east and of the west of Africa, of Asia, of America, as well as of Europe, and give to them *the light of life*. Let us then *do what we can* while here, and so *wait for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life*.”

The following remarks occur on family losses:—

“Whatever they may suppose who never experienced it, few things at the time, more pain the heart than the loss of a child, even when young, and especially at the time when a thousand little circumstances render it more and more interesting. This I know by experience; yet, after a time, the very events which filled my heart with anguish for a season, were looked back upon with a kind of melancholy pleasure; and when I consider what a dangerous world we live in, I can almost rejoice to think that three of my children arrived, as I fully trust, at the place of rest, without encountering the perils and tempests of the passage. My prayer used to be, as the result of my deliberate judgment, though not of my feelings, that if the Lord had any thing for my children to do, they might be spared; but that they

might not live to be the servants of sin, and to treasure up wrath; and I trust this prayer has been, or will be, fully answered. You remember to have heard me tell of the time when you were the only survivor of three children, and were dangerously ill of the same fever of which your sister had died, how my heart was almost broken; but I am persuaded this time of distress was peculiarly useful to me, and I often look back to it with admiring gratitude, when I reflect on the answer to my many prayers which, with many tears, I then offered for you; and I doubt not that you will hereafter look back on your present trial, sharp as it is, in the same manner. Really believing that every human being will exist to eternal ages, and that the children, at least of believers, dying before they are capable of committing actual sin, have the benefit of the new covenant, I consider the circumstance of being instrumental to the existence of those who shall be eternally happy as a high privilege and favour, even though they be speedily taken from us; and I look forward, sometimes, with pleasure to the period when I hope to meet again those who were early taken from me, as well as to be followed by those that survive me. It is not to be expected that parents should not feel and grieve much on these occasions; and indeed the very end of the providential dispensation would fail of being answered if they did not: but I would remind your wife especially, that grief ought no more to be *indulged* than any other of our passions; though many think that being inconsolable at the loss of beloved relatives is amiable, who would be shocked at the idea of indulging many other passions. Every thing in our nature wants regulating, moderating, and subordinating to the will of God, and natural affection as well as the rest. Several particulars, in which faith and submission to God greatly consist on earth, will have no place in heaven. Of this kind is patience under sharp afflictions. This is very honourable to God, edifying to our brethren, and profitable to ourselves; but without sharp affliction we should have no opportunity of exercising it. This is then an opportunity given you of experiencing and manifesting the power and excellency of your principles, which may eventually be of great importance in various ways. In reading of our Lord's miracles, the reflection often occurs to me, would not those who endured the sharpest sorrows (Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, for instance), with the full view of all the honour to Christ and all the good 'to mankind, which arose, and still arises, and shall for ever arise from their exquisite anguish of heart, have been willing to go through the whole again, if again such vast advantage might result from it; at least they would not, on any account, have escaped suffering what they did, now that they see all the reasons why they suffered. Yet, at the time, they had no idea of the ends to be answered by their distresses, and the same wisdom and love order our troubles, both as to the nature and the result of them, which ordered theirs. *What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter. All these things are against me!* But what does Jacob now think of these transactions?

“ If I may judge by myself, you will find this dispensation, in the event, greatly subservient in helping you, to realize an unseen world,

and in exciting earnestness in prayer. As a minister you will often have occasion to counsel and comfort others in similar circumstances, and you will do this both with more feeling and more influence, as having experienced the painful trial yourself. Perhaps many trials are allotted us on this account (2 Cor. i. 4—6.), and this suggests an important plea in prayer, for wisdom and grace to bear and improve the trial in a proper manner. 'We are apt to say of this or the other creature, *this same shall comfort us*, and thus the gifts of our God insensibly draw our hearts from him; and then it becomes necessary, almost, for him to *wither our gourds*. He does so in love; and we shall know, at length, that we have cause to be thankful.—When I think of the manner in which Aaron lost his two sons, Nadab and Abihu, (Lev. x.) and David his Amnon and Absalom, and of many other instances of this kind, I am ready to say how light comparatively would the trial have been, had they lost them when infants! And yet they would have felt, in that case, the same things that you now do."

In noticing the common objection made against insisting so much upon faith, whereby objectors urge that "good works are every thing; and that if we can but bring men to live well, we need not trouble ourselves so much about doubtful and mysterious matters." Mr. Scott has the following illustration:—"This," said he, "is as if a man should come into a garden, and finding the gardener busy in grafting his trees, should tell him that fruit was every thing, and that all this which he was engaged in appeared a great waste of labour;" to which the gardener would reply—"I grant that fruit is every thing, but then I know that this is the only way to obtain fruit."

In the year 1813, Mr. Scott found himself under severe and unexpected embarrassments in respect of his Commentary. His language while this trial lasted is illustrative of his faith and patience. In the end the kindness of some friends completely relieved him from his difficulties. On this timely aid, he observes in a letter to his son—

"I do not now owe any thing which I cannot pay on demand; what I never could say since you were born! and I have something in hand, and shall receive more, besides the works. So you see, that if I have too little regarded such matters while my need was not urgent, when it is, how easily the Lord can do more for me than all my plans could have done in a course of years, and in a manner which tends to make my publications more known and circulated; and I verily believe, without in any degree deducting from my character. Oh that this may make me ashamed of all my distrust and dejection! ~~and that~~ it may encourage you, and many others, to go on in the work of the Lord, without anxiety on this ground. Serve him *by the day*, and trust him *by the day*; never flinch a service because nothing is paid for it; and when either you or yours want it in reality, he will pay it. You see how easily God can provide. *Trust in the Lord and*

*do good, dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.* You cannot do a better service to the world than by bequeathing to it a *well-educated family*. Let this be *your case*, the rest will be the Lord's. It is not agreeable to our proud hearts to become in any way or manner beggars; but my relief has been sent on such a general hint, and with such soothing tokens of respect and affection, as more than compensate all; and I only want, to crown the whole, a heart deeply and humbly thankful to God, and to those into whose hearts he has put it thus to help me."

The following passage in Mr. Scott's correspondence is of an encouraging character in cases where good seed is producing good fruit, though slowly and with interruption.

"Tenderness of conscience (a healthy state) degenerates, in many instances, into a morbid sensibility; so that the consciousness of sinful thoughts and desires mixing with more pure motives, while it ought to produce *humiliation*, proves also the source of *dejection*; as if there were any saints on earth, or ever had been, who were wholly delivered from these things: or as if it could be otherwise than that the keener our vision, the greater our watchfulness, and the deeper our hatred of every sin, the more quick must be this sensibility, and the more acute the pain which attends it till all sin be extinguished. We must not stop at the words, '*O wretched man that I am,*' but adopt the apostle's thanksgiving also."

In a letter to a young lady left at the head of a family, he writes,—

"I should particularly recommend *method* to you in your employments. If you would at all prosper in your soul, you must secure time for retirement; reading the scriptures, and helps in understanding them; and prayer, secret, particular, earnest prayer. Without this nothing will be done. This time, in your situation, will, I apprehend, be best secured, by retrenching an hour from sleep, and such things as merely relate to external decoration in the morning, before your more hurrying engagements begin; and in the evening before it be too late. But securing time in the morning is the grand thing: not that the other should be neglected, but it will necessarily be exposed to more interruptions. A plan, however, should be laid down, and adhered to with as much regularity, at least, as that about our meals. That must sometimes be broken in upon, yet not often. Above all, as much as possible, secure the whole of the Lord's day; and firmly stand out against Sunday visitings. In addition to this, if you would improve your mind and heart, learn to redeem the fragments of time. Have a book at hand, that when you are waiting perhaps for your father or friends to dinner, or on similar occasions, you may not let the little particles of time elapse, or rather heavily drawl on as a burden, but take the book and read a little; and if you lift up a short prayer over what you read, so much the better. It is surprising how much I have read and learned in these fragments of time, which most people lose. *Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost.* Avoid

late visits, and the late entertainment of visitors. Even among pious persons, I scarcely know any thing more hostile to the religion of the closet; that is, the religion of the heart and soul.

“What you mention in respect of original sin, lies at the bottom of all Christianity; and we never learn any thing else to much purpose till we become deeply sensible of innate depravity; of a *moral disease*, which we cannot cure, and have not heart of ourselves to cure, but which the Lord alone can cure. We ought, however, to seek the cure from Him as we do health from the physician; by applying to him, trusting him, following his directions, welcoming his medicines, and avoiding what he inhibits.”

We are now arrived at the closing scene of Mr. Scott's life; in reference to which, Mr. Wilson observes in his funeral sermon,

“Before I proceed to give some particulars of his most instructive and affecting departure, I must observe that I lay no stress on them as to the evidence of his state before God. It is the tenour of the life, not that of the few morbid and suffering scenes which precede dissolution, that fixes the character. We are not authorized by scripture to place any dependence on the last periods of sinking nature, through which the Christian may be called to pass to his eternal reward. The deaths of the saints described in the inspired volume, are, without exception, the concluding scenes of long and consistent previous devotedness to the service of God. Such are those of Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and David. That of Stephen is the only narrative of this kind in the New Testament which regards the article of death at all; and the circumstances in which he was placed as the first martyr of the Christian church, may well account for the exception. The great Apostle of the Gentiles, and the other inspired founders of the new dispensation, are exhibited to us in the holiness of their lives, in the calmness of their approach towards death, in the deliberate judgment they form of their past labours, in their exhortations to others to supply their vacant posts of duty, in their triumphant anticipations of their future reward, but not in the actual moments of their final conflict. It would therefore have been no subject of surprise if the last days of our lamented friend had been wholly clouded by the natural operations of disease. We should then have drawn the veil entirely over them, as in the case of many of the eminent servants of Christ in every age. But, though no importance is to be attached to these hours of fainting mortality, with reference to the acceptance and final triumph of the dying Christian, yet where it pleases God to afford one of his departing servants, as in the instance before us, such a measure of faith and self-possession, as to close a holy and most consistent life with a testimony which sealed, amidst the pains of acute disease, and in the most impressive manner, all his doctrines and instructions, during forty-five preceding years, we are called on as I think to record with gratitude the divine benefit, and to use it with humility for the confirmation of our own faith and joy.”

The circumstantial account which follows is chiefly compo-

sed of extracts from letters written on the spot. The following is one :

" Though I can say nothing at all favourable respecting his health, and indeed he appears to be approaching very near his end, yet thanks be to God, the clouds which overspread his mind are breaking away, and he talks with a placidity and cheerfulness greater than I have before seen since I came. He passed a very distressing night, owing to the degree of debility induced by the feverish paroxysm of yesterday; indeed I much doubted whether he would live till morning. The symptoms have, however, become more mild; and this morning he rose above his feelings of bodily uneasiness and mental depression, and seemed to rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

" Just as we had assembled for family worship, he sent to say that he wished us to meet in his room and join with him in the Lord's supper, as a means of grace, through which he might receive that consolation which he was seeking. It is utterly impossible to describe the deeply interesting and affecting scene. The whole family (with one exception), and an old parishioner were present. The fervour displayed by my dear father, his poor emaciated form, the tears and sobs of all present, were almost more than I could bear, with that degree of composure which was requisite to enable me to read the service so as to make him hear. In the midst of the service he fell back as if expiring, and for a moment I thought he had departed, but he revived again. The scene was trying, but it was a delightful feeling, and has done more to cheer our downcast hearts than can well be conceived. I could not but feel reminded in this sacrament of what is said of the passover in the time of Josiah (2 Kings, xxiii, 22.) '*Surely there was not holden such another.*' It seems, moreover, to have been quite a cordial to my father's spirits, who adopted on the occasion the words of the venerable Simeon in the prospect of dissolution. He is now quite calm and like himself; and can clearly discern that much of his previous uncomfortable state of mind was merely the effect of fever."

Nearly a week subsequently, and after repeated expectations that the closing scene had arrived, another letter observes,—

" Our beloved father is still with us; and did not his pulse indicate approaching dissolution, we should scarcely think it possible that a dying man could speak and think with the energy and clearness he does. O that you were here! How would it rejoice your heart to witness his calm and heavenly spirit; his humility, faith, tenderness, and love. He seems still longing for more holiness. Never, indeed, will he be satisfied till he enters the realms of eternal bliss. The agitation of mind under which he did labour we trust is finally dispersed. He sometimes expresses a fear of the last struggle; yet, in general, speaks of it with composure and confidence. I cannot tell you how our dread of separation from him is increased: But I trust God will support us, and that we shall all derive great and lasting benefit from the scene passing before us."

In a week following, Mr. Scott, jun. writes,—

"I have now been here a week, watching over the dying bed of my dear honoured father, and daily expecting his dissolution. It is a deeply affecting and edifying scene; and what passed before I could come, was, I suppose, more interesting still. In every thing but comfort his state is even *sublimely Christian*. Such an awful sense of eternal things, of the evil of sin, and of the holiness of God; such profound self abasement; such cleaving unto Christ alone; such patience, resignation, and unlimited submission to the will of God; such a constant spirit of fervent prayer; such pouring forth of blessings on all around him; with such minute and tender attention to all their feelings, it is truly admirable to behold. His state is bright in every one's view but his own. To his own apprehension, he in great measure *walks in darkness*. I have myself scarcely witnessed a gleam of joy. His habitual temper is rather that which the words of Job describe, '*Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.*' This is often painful, sometimes it is discouraging to our feelings; yet we are sensible that there is a call upon us for unbounded gratitude and praise. I am very shy of addressing one to whom I so much look up; but occasionally the attempt to convey to his ear some sentence of God's word has succeeded; and it is so kindly and thankfully received as if very affecting. But we are obliged to keep, on these occasions, almost entirely to first principles; such as the coming of the sinner to the Saviour. A great part of his time he has prayed and thought aloud, as insensible of the presence of any fellow creature; and the train of his thoughts thus discovered has been often highly elevated. Thus, 'Posthumous reputation! the veriest bubble with which the devil ever deluded a wretched mortal. But posthumous usefulness; in that there is indeed something. That was what Moses desired, and Joshua, and David, and the prophets; the apostles also, Peter, and Paul, and John; and most of all the Lord Jesus Christ.' Again, 'O Lord, abhor me not, though I be indeed *abhorrible*, and abhor myself! Say not, 'Thou filthy soul, continue *filthy still*; but rather say '*I will, be thou clean.*'"

The final scene (which took place on the 16th of April) is thus described:—

"For two days my dear father coughed almost incessantly, though not violently. But on Saturday this almost entirely ceased. In consequence an increased difficulty of breathing succeeded, and we feared suffocation might take place. On Sunday night he was very ill, so as to make us apprehend his death was at hand. Yesterday morning he was, for a time, a good deal better; but the oppression returned and increased. Nothing immediate was anticipated, when his death actually approached. I had taken a walk, and on my return visited his chamber. We then all came down to tea; in the course of which it was remarked, that it did not seem quite well for him to be left attended only by a servant, as her grief appeared to distress him. I said, I would go up immediately. I did so; but Dawes, (a young friend who scarcely ever left him,) had anticipated me. He had found my father worse, dismissed the servant, and was supporting him, nearly in an

erect posture, upon his arm. I said, 'this surely cannot last long'; and Dawes replied, 'Not through the night, I think.' I looked in his face, and saw his eyes, in some degree, turn upwards, which I pointed out to Dawes, (who was rather behind him,) and he immediately said, 'You had better tell those who wish to see him again, to come.' I did so, in a calm manner, and went before them. He was sinking as quietly as an infant dropping asleep, and with a beautiful look of composure. My mother and sister wished to come in, and, on my saying there was nothing to shock them, they did so. We all looked on for a minute or two, while the last respirations quietly ebbed away—so to speak. So far from feeling shocked, it was a relief to all our minds to see such suffering, and such labour as his breathing had been, subside into such sweet peace and ease. He had been peaceful and happy, on the whole, for several days; and on Sunday, and on the morning of Monday, had said some delightful things. His mind was clear to the last moment; and, I believe, in the article of death itself, he suffered much less than for many hours, or even days before. The last effort which he made was to stretch out his hand to his servant, when she was about to leave the room.

"The following is the account of the same event, furnished to Mr. Wilson, by the faithful and affectionate young friend in whose arms my father expired:—'One of his last efforts was to give his hand to his weeping servant; which was a beautiful evidence that the tender attention to the feelings of those around him, which marked his whole illness, continued to form a prominent feature in his state of mind even to the last. After this, which took place about five minutes before his death, he appeared to be lost in prayer; but, just at the moment when he reclined his head on my breast, the expression of his countenance suddenly changed from that of prayer, and indicated, as I conceived, a transition to feelings of admiring and adoring praise, with a calmness and peace which are quite inexpressible. The idea strongly impressed upon my mind was, that the veil which intercepts eternal things from our view was removed, and that, like Stephen, he saw things invisible to mortal eye.'"

Mr. Scott is full and minute in his record of many of the dying declarations of his father.

"His wonderful knowledge of Scripture (he observes) was a source of great comfort, and the exactness with which he repeated passage after passage, frequently remarking upon emphatic words in the original, was amazing. The manner, also, in which he connected one with another was admirable. It resembled hearing a series of exquisitely selected scripture references, read with a solemnity and feeling such as one had never before witnessed.

"To his son-in-law, who came in the evening, and regretted his absence when the sacrament was administered, he said, 'It was beneficial to me—I received Christ, and he received me. I feel a composure which I did not expect last night. I have not triumphant assurance, but something which is more calm and satisfactory. I bless



God for it!’ And then he repeated, in the most emphatic manner, the whole twelfth chapter of Isaiah.

“He said to his servant:—‘I thank you for all your kindness to me. You have been a faithful domestic, and, I hope, a conscientious one. If at any time I have been hasty and sharp, forgive me, and pray to God to forgive me; but lay the blame upon *me*, not upon religion.’

“Once he appeared dying, and suffered exquisitely. ‘Oh!’ he said, ‘it is hard work. Death is a new acquaintance—a terrible one, except as Christ *giveth us the victory*, and the *assurance* of it. My flesh and my heart seem as if they *wanted* to fail, and could not. Who can tell what that tie is which binds body and soul together? How easily it is loosened in some; what a *wrench* and *tear* is it in others. Lord loosen it, if it be thy will! I hope it is not wrong to pray for a release. If it be, God forgive me! Yet if it be thy will that I should wait for days and weeks, *thou art righteous*.’ On one occasion he said, ‘I *hope*, but I cannot but feel some *fear*; and it is such an *eternal risk*, of such *infinite* importance, that the slightest fear seems to counterbalance even prevalent hope.’

“He begged his curate to forgive him, if he had been occasionally rough and sharp. ‘I meant it for your good; but like every thing of mine, it was mixed with sin. Impute it not, however, to my religion, but to my want of *more* religion.’

“On another occasion he said, ‘I have the last struggle to pass, and what that is, what that *wrench* is, who can tell me? Lord give me patience, fortitude, holy courage! I have heard persons treat almost with ridicule the expression, *put underneath me thy everlasting arms!*—(Deut. xxxiii. 27.) But it is exactly what I want—everlasting arms to raise me up—to be *strengthened with might by his spirit in the inner man*. I am in full possession of all my faculties—I know I am dying—I feel the *immense*, the *infinite* importance of the crisis—*Lord Jesus receive my spirit!* Thou art all I want. None but Jesus can do helpless sinners good. Blessed be God there is one Saviour, though but one in the whole universe.

“It may be remarked, in general, that his use of the language of the Lord’s Prayer was continual during every part of his illness; as was likewise that of various parts of the Church Liturgy, particularly of the Communion Service, and the sentence in the Burial Service, ‘Suffer me not, at my last hour, for any pains of death to fall from thee!’

“Throughout his illness, all his tempers and dispositions marked a soul ripe for heaven. His *patience* was most exemplary, though this was the grace which, almost more than any other, he feared would fail; but it increased to the end. On the only point on which any approach to impatience had been discovered, his *desire to depart*, he had become almost perfectly resigned; and though he still inquired frequently if any token for good appeared, yet, on receiving a negative answer, he only observed, ‘then I must seek a fresh stock of patience!’ His *kindness* and affection to all who approached him, were carried to the

greatest height, and showed themselves in a singularly minute attention to all their feelings, and whatever might be for their comfort, to a degree that was quite affecting; especially at a time when he was suffering so much himself, often in mind as well as body. Even in the darkest times, *'thou art righteous! Father, glorify thy name!'* solemnly enunciated, was the sentence most frequently on his lips, and marked his profound *submission*. His *humility* and sense of utter unworthiness seemed more deep than words could express. It need scarcely be said, that *Christ* was now more precious in his eyes than ever; and his expressions of exclusive, undivided, and adoring adherence to him for salvation, if possible, more strong. At the same time, he refused the appropriation to himself of those promises which belong only to true believers in *Christ*, except as it could be shown that he bore the character commonly annexed to the promise—such as those that *fear* the Lord, that *love* God, repent, believe, and obey. When he could not trace this in himself, he would have recourse only to those which encourage even the chief of sinners to come to *Christ*, and assure them, that, *him that cometh he will in no wise cast out*.

"In this connexion it may be remarked, that whatever dissatisfaction with himself he at any time expressed, he never intimated the least wavering as to the truths which he had spent his life in inculcating, or impeached his own sincerity and faithfulness in the discharge of his ministry.

"I only add further, that he would always, when he received the sacrament, and, after a short prayer, which, during the latter part of the time, we every night offered up with him, have repeated to him the affecting commendation in the service for the visitation of the sick: 'Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee: the Lord bless thee and keep thee: the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and evermore;' and most affecting was the solemnity with which he listened, and pronounced his *amen* to it."

The length of the foregoing extracts (in which it will be seen that we have preferred to permit Mr. Scott's biographer to speak for himself) has left us little space for any general summary of the character or labours of the deceased; indeed these appear to have been so accurately detailed by his friend, Mr. Wilson, in his funeral sermon (to which his present biographer has recourse), that we know not how we can do better than let that individual also present his views on the subject.

"We here behold," says he, "a man of strong natural powers, intrenched in the sophistries of human pride, and a determined opponent of almost all the chief truths of the Gospel, gradually convinced and subdued. We see him engaging in a laborious study of the Scripture, with opinions and prejudices firmly fixed, and reluctant to admit a humiliating scheme of theology, yet borne on, contrary to his expectations, and wishes, and worldly interest, by the simple energy

of truth. We view him arriving, to his own dismay, at one doctrine after another. We behold him making every step sure as he advances, till he, at length, works out, by his own diligent and most anxious investigation of the sacred volume, all the parts of divine truth, which he afterwards discovered to be the common faith of the church of Christ, to be the foundation of all the reformed communities, and to be essentially united with every part of divine revelation. He was thus taught the apostolical doctrines of the deep fall and apostacy of man, of his impotency to any thing spiritually good, the proper atonement and satisfaction of Christ, the triunity of persons in the God-head, regeneration and progressive sanctification by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith only, and salvation by grace. These great principles he perceived to be indissolubly connected with repentance unto life, separation from the sinful customs and spirit of the world, self-denial, and the bearing of reproach for Christ's sake; holy love to God and man; and activity in every good word and work. Further, he learnt to unite both these series of truths with dependence upon Christ for the supply of needful grace, humble trust in his promises for final victory, and an unreserved ascription of all blessings to the divine grace. Lastly, and after some interval, he embraced the doctrines relating to the secret and merciful will of God in our election in Christ Jesus, although he did not think a belief in these mysterious doctrines to be indispensable to salvation, nor consider the evidence for them, satisfactory as he deemed it, to carry with it that irresistible conviction which had attended his inquiries with respect to those essential and directly vital truths of religion before enumerated. The whole narrative of the change which led to the adoption of these views of religion is so honest, and so evidently free from enthusiasm, as to constitute a most striking testimony to the efficacy of the grace of God.

“After he had once discovered, and embraced in all their fulness and practical application, the chief doctrines of the New Testament, he may truly be said to have *kept the faith* with undeviating constancy. During forty-five years he continued to teach, and write, and live, in the spirit of those holy principles. What he was with respect to them, in the earliest part of this period, the same he continued in the latest, except as each year added something to his conviction of their truth, and to the maturity of his judgment respecting them. There are few writers in whom consistency is so strikingly observable through so many voluminous works. He was placed at different periods of his life in many scenes of peculiar difficulty, where the currents of opinion within, as well as without his own immediate circle, might have induced him to vary or conceal the faith upon some points of importance, but nothing moved him from his own steadfastness. Nor was his scheme of doctrine more apostolical than his method of publicly expounding and applying it in his sermons and writings. He *kept the faith*, by ever maintaining a theology, not only pure and orthodox as to its constituent elements and general character, but scripturally exact in the arrangement, the proportions, the symmetry, the harmony of its several doctrines, and in the use to which each was, on the proper occasion, applied. In

this view, the habit which he had been led to form of studying the scripture for himself, and of diligently comparing all its parts with each other, was of essential service. He was not a man of ordinary mould. The humble submission to every part of divine revelation, the abstinence from metaphysical subtleties, the entire reliance on the inspired doctrine in all its bearings and consequences, the candour on points really doubtful or of less vital importance, which are the characteristics of his writings, give them extraordinary value; while, for example, he firmly believed the essential and vital truths which I before noticed, he held with no less firmness the accountableness of man, the perpetual obligation of the holy law, the necessity of addressing the hearts and consciences of sinners, and of using, without reserve, the commands, cautions, and threatenings so copiously employed in the inspired books; the importance of close inquiries into the detail of private, social, and relative duties, the necessity of pointing out those imperfections of temper or practice, by which a false religion betrays its unsoundness, and of following out the grand branches of scripture morals into their proper fruits in the regulation of the life. In a word, he entered as fully into the great system of plain means and duties on the one hand, as of the mysterious doctrines of divine grace on the other. He united the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James.

“ With such fidelity, we wonder not that he had, like the Apostle before him, to *fight a good fight*. He was not a man to receive the impression of his age, but to give it. On various occasions he thought it incumbent on him to come forward publicly in defence of the faith of the Gospel; a task, in the execution of which, the firmest adherence to truth, and a candid treatment of his opponents, were ever united with singular knowledge of scripture, with great acuteness of reasoning, and with a simple honesty of purpose and of principle, which it was difficult for an impartial inquirer to withstand. At the time when he first began to preach the Gospel faithfully, he found many who had habituated themselves to such statements of the grace and privileges of Christianity, as tended insensibly to injure the minds of their hearers, by inducing them to separate the duties of the Bible from its doctrines. With such fatal errors he made no compromise. His early writings were chiefly directed against this class of tenets, which, however unintentionally on the part of some who maintained them, verged towards the Antinomian heresy. At a later period, he engaged in a very different service—a contest with the adherents of infidelity. Towards the close of his days, opinions tending to magnify human merits, and in their effect, subversive of the doctrines of divine grace, attracted his notice, and were encountered by him with the same manliness of resistance which in earlier life he had opposed to errors of a contrary description. In all these instances, few will hesitate to allow that he *fought a good fight*. The prejudices with which a living controversialist cannot fail to be regarded, must of course be allowed to subside, before a calm judgment can be formed of his merits as a disputant, or in general as a writer; but, when that period shall ar-

rive, I doubt not that his laborious productions will be admitted to rank amongst the soundest theological writings of our age.

"In these and other labours *'he finished his course,'* for his attention was not absorbed in his writings. He was a laborious minister in every function of that sacred calling, and especially in the more retired walks of it. In the pulpit, indeed, an asthmatical affection, added to a strong provincial accent, an inattention to style and manner, and prolixity, rendered his discourses less attractive than those of many very inferior men; though even here, such were the richness and originality of his matter, such his evident acquaintance with Scripture, and with the human heart, and such the skill which he evinced as a Christian moralist, that by hearers of attentive and reflecting minds he was listened to, not only with respect, but with delight. But in visiting the sick, in resolving cases of conscience, in counselling young ministers, in assisting various religious and benevolent institutions, his success was peculiarly great. Indeed, if his exertions as an author were left out of consideration, his other labours for forty-five years as the chaplain of an hospital, as a parish priest, and generally as a member of society and of the Christian church, would place him on a level with most pious clergymen, however zealous, diligent, or useful.

"But his widest and most important field of usefulness, and that which I have reserved for the last topic in the consideration of his public character, was as a commentator on the Holy Scriptures. In this he may be truly said to have *finished his course*, as well as *fought a good fight*, and *kept the faith*. It is difficult to form a just estimate of a work on which such an author laboured for thirty-three years. It entitles him of itself to rank at the head of the theologians of his own time, as at once the most laborious and important writer of the day. The capital excellency of this valuable and immense undertaking perhaps consists in the following, more closely than any other, the fair and adequate meaning of every part of Scripture, without regard to the niceties of human systems: it is, in every sense of the expression, a scriptural comment. It has likewise a further and a strong recommendation in its originality. Every part of it is thought out by the author for himself; not borrowed from others. The later editions, indeed, are enriched with brief and valuable quotations from several writers of credit, but the substance of the work is entirely his own. It is not a compilation, it is an original production, in which you have the deliberate judgment of a masculine and independent mind on all the parts of Holy Scripture."

"Determination of mind in serving God formed the basis of his character, and gave strength and firmness to every other part of it. Whatever else he was, he was most decisive in religion. The fashionable opinions or practices of the day, the number or station of his opponents, the distractions, and divisions of parties, the plausible appearance of certain errors, the reputation for piety or talent of those who incautiously favoured them, made no difference to him. A powerful discriminating judgment, and an intimate acquaintance with every

part of Scripture gave such a tone of firmness to his habits of thinking and acting, that he seemed like a giant taking his course among children, regardless of their puny opposition, and bent only on the achievement of his own great objects. It must, on the other hand, be owned that he sometimes erred by want of sufficient consideration for the feelings and prejudices of others, and sometimes was betrayed into rudeness and over-confidence. I wish not to conceal his human failings, but these failings he constantly opposed, and, as he advanced in life, almost entirely subdued; whilst the sterling honesty and determination of his character, the spring of all his usefulness, remained unimpaired.

“In his *domestic circle* his character was most exemplary. No blot ever stained his name. A disinterestedness and unbending integrity in the midst of many difficulties so raised him in the esteem of all who knew him, as greatly to honour and recommend the Gospel he professed. He was in all respects an excellent father of a family. What he appeared in his preaching and writings, that he was amongst his children and servants. He did not neglect his private duties on the ground of public engagements; but he carried his religion into his house, and placed before his family the doctrines he taught, embodied in his own evident uprightness of conduct. This determination and consistency in personal religion instructed his children better than a thousand set lessons. It is indeed commonly found that the general behaviour and conversation of parents produce a decidedly deeper impression on the minds of the young than any formal instructions, however in themselves excellent. When children are addressed directly, their minds recoil, or at least their attention is apt to flag; but their own shrewd observations on what they see done or hear said by others, on the estimates which they perceive their parents to form of things and characters, and on the governing principles by which they judge their conduct to be regulated, sink deep into their memories, and in fact constitute by far the most effective part of education. It was on this principle that our deceased friend acted. He did not inculcate certain doctrines merely, or talk against covetousness and the love of the world, or insist on the public duties of the sabbath, or the private ones of the family, whilst the bent of his conversation was worldly, his temper selfish, his habits indulgent, and his vanity or ambition manifest under the thin guise of religious phraseology: but he exhibited to his household a holy and amiable pattern of true piety—he was a man of God—imperfect, indeed, but consistent and sincere. Accordingly, all his children became, by the divine mercy, his comforts during life, and now remain to call him blessed, and hand down his example to another generation.

“A *spirit of prayer and devotion* was, further, a conspicuous ornament of his character. He lived *near to God*. Intercessory prayer was his delight. He was accustomed in his family devotions to intercede earnestly for the whole church, for the government of his country, for the ministers of religion, for those preparing for the sacred office, for schools and universities, for the different nations of Christendom, for the Heathens and Jews, and for all religious institutions;

varying his supplications as circumstances seemed to dictate. As he approached the close of life, his deep humility of mind, and his zeal for the glory of his Saviour, were very affecting and edifying to those who were present on these occasions. He was the aged saint filled with the love of God and man, and supplicating for the whole human race. More especially, he had for above twenty years been constantly imploring of God that he would open some way for the conversion of the world, as well as the more extensive diffusion of genuine Christianity at home, before he saw any apparent means for the accomplishment of his desires; and, when the establishment of the Bible and Missionary Institutions seemed to afford a prospect of the consummation which he had so fervently desired, his thanksgiving to God abounded. His studious and secluded life by no means produced any indifference as to the active schemes which were formed for the salvation of mankind, nor any undue or unreasonable fastidiousness as to the means employed—faults often connected with literary habits—but whenever the end of religious societies was good, and the methods they employed lawful, he prayed most earnestly for their prosperity, and blessed God for their success; though perhaps in the details of their constitution or proceedings there might be some things which he could not fully approve. Thus were his firmness and energy softened by candour and enlarged benevolence.

“His *faith and patience under afflictions* must not be omitted. Though his constitution in itself was robust, his health was far from being good. An obstinate asthma, with exhausting bilious attacks, exposed him at times to acute sufferings for more than forty years of his life. Inflammatory fever succeeded these diseases during the last seven years, aggravated by a malady most inconvenient and alarming. He had, moreover, as those who knew his private history are well aware, painful mortifications and vexations to endure whilst he resided at Olney, and still more severe ones during a large part of the seventeen years which he spent in London. His great work, the Commentary, was also the occasion of almost constant perplexity, embarrassment, and disappointment, for nearly the whole of the first fourteen years of his labours upon it; so that almost any other person would have relinquished the undertaking in despair. To these must be added a frequent recurrence of severe domestic trials and calamities, often increased by dejection of spirits. Yet his faith and patience bore up under all. Those who observed him in scenes of peculiar difficulty, were often reminded of the words of the royal preacher, *the spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity*. This seemed to be the brief history of his life. Perhaps few writers, who ultimately attained the esteem and influence of this remarkable man for the last twenty years of his labours, ever reached such an eminence through greater discouragements of almost every description. During the twenty-five years preceding that period, he had experienced inconveniences and difficulties in a degree that can scarcely be imagined by any but his intimate friends.

“I close, continues Mr. Wilson, this review of his character by noticing *the gradual but regular advances which he made in every branch*

of real godliness, and especially in overcoming his constitutional failings. This is, after all, the best test of Christian sincerity. A man may profess almost any principles or hold any kind of conduct for a time; but to continue a self-denying course of consistent and growing piety, to apply the strict rule of the divine law honestly and unreservedly to the whole of our conduct, to cultivate carefully every branch of our duty, to resist and contend against the evil tempers and dispositions to which we are naturally most prone—and to unite all this with humble trust in the merits of our Saviour, and with unfeigned ascription of every thing good in us to his grace and mercy; this it is that makes a real renovation of heart, and stamps the genuine believer in the Gospel of Christ. And such was the individual whom we are considering. His feelings, as I have already intimated, lay on the side of roughness and severity of temper, pride of intellect, and confidence in his own powers. But from the time when he first obeyed with his whole heart the truth of the Gospel, he set himself to struggle against these, and all other evil tendencies, to study self-control, to aim at those graces which are most difficult to nature, and to employ all the motives of the Gospel to assist him in the contest; and he gradually so increased in habitual mildness, humility, and tenderness for others, as to become no less exemplary for these virtues, than he had long been for the opposite qualities of religious courage, firmness, and determination. He used to observe, that it was no excuse for a man to allege, that this or that holy temper was not his turn; for every grace ought to be, and must be the turn of every sincere Christian. I can most truly say, that during an acquaintance of about twenty-five years, which gradually matured, on my part, into a filial affection, I scarcely ever saw an instance of more evident growth in real obedience, real love to God and man, real victory over natural infirmities, in a word, real Christian holiness. In the concluding years of his life he was, as it appeared to me, obviously ripening for heaven. *He had fought a good fight, he had finished his course, he had kept the faith*; so that at last his genuine humility before God, his joy in Christ Jesus, his holy zeal for the diffusion of the Gospel, his tender affection to his family and all around him, his resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, and his exclusive trust in the merits and grace of his Saviour, seemed to leave little more to be done, but for the stroke of death to bring him to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in its season."

In a note to this funeral sermon, Mr. Wilson observes further:—

"His writings are full of thought—full of 'the seeds of things,' as was said of Lord Bacon's works. The ore dug up from the mine is not unalloyed indeed, but it is rich and copious, and well worthy of the process necessary to bring it into use. Take as an instance—the 'Remarks on the Refutation of Calvinism,' which, in the 2d edition, I venture to call one of the first theological treatises of the day; it is pregnant with valuable matter, not merely on the questions directly discussed, but on almost every topic of doctrinal and practical



divinity. It appears to me incomparable for the acute and masterly defence of truth."

Much yet follows from the pen of Mr. Scott, jun. illustrative of his views of the character and works of his deceased father, but for this valuable matter we can only refer our readers to the work itself.

To the above passages, which we have borrowed from the published discourse of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, one of the most able as well as amiable specimens of exact character-drawing in existence, we will presume to add nothing except a remark or two by way of conclusion.

We consider the subject of this article as one of the most important pieces of biography which any nation, or any period of our own nation has produced, or been capable of producing. The sort of man whom it presents to us, though a rare and peculiar specimen, is, nevertheless, exclusively of English growth. The history of one who follows the fashions of other men in thinking and acting, is, in effect, not so much the history of what a man is, as of what he would be, or would be thought to be; but the life of a solitary and protesting individual, standing almost alone in the midst of a corrupt world, looking honestly for the rule of his actions and opinions into the oracles of Divine truth, and with a masculine and athletic mind maintaining a long and severe struggle with the prejudices and the depravities of nature and education, roving at large through the wilderness of free thought, and led by a surpassing vigour of parts and penetration to embrace all the great verities of Christian faith, is a spectacle of such singular attraction and grandeur, that we have felt it almost difficult since our perusal of these memoirs, to turn our eyes with the same interest upon the cares and business of ordinary life. No founder of a new school in the ancient world, no institutor of any new sect among the moderns, no reformer, or discoverer, or projector, ever put forth more independent thinking, nor ever followed out his subject with more intellectual freedom, than appears to have been employed by the late Rev. Thomas Scott, under the control of the strictest integrity, and the soundest capacity, to "prove what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." His was the march of an heroic assertor of the purest liberty of research, going on from conquest to conquest, without auxiliaries, and pushing forwards, by continued effort, the bounds of his acquisitions till the whole field was won.

The cause of truth has, from Mr. Scott's labours, derived this peculiar advantage,—that whatever in common life marks with the most decisive demonstration the influence of strong common sense and manly discretion, manifested itself through-

out the whole practice of his religious profession. Wisdom is the word that best describes the character of his attainments and exertions. His vigorous understanding held a parallel course with his faith and piety. Those who are apt to say that the developement of spiritual religion in the heart supersedes or suspends the exercise of judgment, may learn from the example of this sage and sober servant of Christ, that the highest human prudence is in harmony with the most exalted feelings to which vital religion can give birth.

With his Calvinistic opinions we have nothing to do. Our own views of this subject are upon record. Whatever high doctrines he maintained, he never pressed them upon others. They made, as far as we can learn, no part of his ordinary teaching or preaching. Whatever were his speculative opinions, they led to no consequences in his own mind but such as raised to supreme importance all the practical restraints and obligations of social and moral life. So bland was his Calvinism, and so little by him insisted upon as an essential article of faith, that we find him, in one of his letters of advice, telling a person in whose welfare he was deeply and affectionately engaged, if he discovered more Calvinism than was agreeable to him, *to skip it*.

To the Rev. John Scott, the compiler of this history, whose filial reverence for such a father is worthy of his own character, we desire to express our gratitude for his work. The honour in which he holds the subject of his memoir has made him very sparing of his accounts of others, even of those of his own family, but he could not hide from observation the testimony which the manner in which his work is executed bears to his own virtue and ability. It is a pure specimen of biography, unmingled with extraneous matter or incident to increase its bulk—the common artifice of writers in this department. He seems to have been desirous of giving to the public an unintercepted view of the great individual whose extraordinary life he has brought before us, and whose substantive excellence he has considered as entitling his memory to be treated apart and alone,—as the object of especial and undivided homage.

## ART. XVII.—INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

1. *The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence, between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine.* 3 vols. imperial 8vo. London, 1817.
2. *A Reply to 'The End of Religious Controversy;' as discussed in a Correspondence between a supposed Society of Protestants and the Reverend John Milner, DD. FSA. Bishop of Castabala, &c.* By the Reverend Richard Grier, AM. Vicar of Templebodane, in the Diocese of Cloyne, and Chaplain to his Excellency Earl Talbot, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 8vo. pp. 416. Cadell. London, 1821.

BEFORE entering upon our review of the controversy between the churches of England and of Rome, which is to be the subject of the present article, it will be right to state, that the work of Dr. Milner, to which Mr. Grier replies, was published about four years ago, in London, and was entitled—*The End of Religious Controversy, in a Friendly Correspondence between a Religious Society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine.* This work, “which (as Mr. Grier remarks) consists of five-hundred-and-fifty-five pages of imperial octavo, divided into three parts,” was addressed to the present Bishop of St. David’s, in answer to his lordship’s *Protestant’s Catechism*. It was written, about twenty years ago, as a sequel to Dr. Milner’s controversy with the late Dr. Sturges, entitled “*Letters to a Prebendary*,” but was suppressed, at the time, as he himself informs us, at the request of Bishop Horsey.—Alluding to these particulars, Mr. Grier observes, that, according to Dr. Milner’s own account, “His book has lain dormant, during twice the period prescribed by the Poet, within the penetrate of his study, receiving each day such embellishments from his master-hand, as might exhibit his portraiture in its most attractive form. Nor has it been (continues Mr. Grier) among the least artful of his devices to set up a fictitious society of Protestant correspondents, and to have shaped the Letters ascribed to them in such a way as to make his own replies appear triumphant.” (Pref. Rom. p. iv.) Dr. Milner’s work, therefore, is to be considered by us, as containing the whole strength of the Romish church; it being a summary of all the arguments used by the Romish divines, in their writings against the Church of England. Its professed object is to

demolish the strong holds of Protestantism, and to represent the Church of Rome as invincible and triumphant.

It appeared to us rather singular that Dr. Milner's work should have remained so long unnoticed by our Protestant divines, and we were much pleased when the first hint of Mr. Grier's intended reply was communicated to the public. Having been among the foremost to read and admire his very satisfactory refutation of Ward's *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, we had great hopes that Mr. Grier's answer to Dr. Milner would prove equally satisfactory and triumphant. In this expectation, however, our regard for truth and fair dealing obliges us to acknowledge, that we have been not a little disappointed. Let not this declaration, however, be misunderstood, or conceived to convey a greater censure on Mr. Grier's performance than it is our intention to express, or than we think has been merited by him. It is not for what Mr. Grier has done that we are disposed to find fault with him, but for what he has left undone. His work, so far as it goes, is clear, judicious, and convincing; but we expected him to go farther, or to do a great deal more. In our opinion, at least, he has, in point of fact, left wholly untouched the most important part of the subject, the *cardinal* point upon which the whole controversy turns: we allude to the *infallibility* claimed by the Church of Rome. And we are the more surprised at this, because it has been pointed out to his opponents by Dr. Milner himself, as we shall speedily show, in various parts of his writings, as the very essence of this controversy. It strikes us very forcibly, that the great object to be kept in view by Protestant divines, in their controversies with those of the Church of Rome, ought to be the desire of convincing, not their Protestant readers, for they must be supposed to be convinced already, but their Roman Catholic readers and opponents. To this end their chief exertions should be directed against the infallibility of the Romish Church. As long as Roman Catholics can fancy their own church to be possessed of the infallibility which she has so long and so pertinaciously claimed, they can have no possible inducement to abandon their own for any other communion. This doctrine is, therefore, the strong hold of Popery, which Protestant divines must endeavour to batter down altogether, otherwise they must not expect to see victory crown their exertions. Under the influence, therefore, of these views, and of this conviction (both of them strengthened by a long and intimate acquaintance with Roman Catholics and their modes and habits of

thinking), it shall be our endeavour, in the present article, to supply what we deem the greatest defect in Mr. Grier's work. At some future period we may descend to more minute particulars, and endeavour to convince our Roman Catholic opponents, that their doctrines are equally untenable, whether examined in the gross or in the detail. After some general preliminary remarks on Dr. Milner's controversial conduct, character, and pretensions, we shall confine our attention principally to a vindication of the right of private judgment in every thing regarding faith and morals, and to a refutation of the boasted infallibility of the Church of Rome.

The wise man (says Dr. Milner) has remarked in the sacred text, that "*of making many books there is no end:*" and yet we think it must be acknowledged, even by the learned and *consistent* Doctor himself, that *he* has *made* more books than almost nine-tenths of the numerous authors of the present very fertile and scribbling age. But, although we are of opinion that the Doctor has been rather imprudent in flinging this saying of the wise man into the face of the Bishop of St. David's, and though we cannot wholly acquit the Doctor of the charge of being frequently led on by the spirit of polemical knight-errantry, yet we are ready to allow, that he has come forth manfully to the attack, and that he has been generally engaged with no ordinary or visionary opponents. Nor has he contented himself, like many others, with levelling his artillery at some of the weak holds or outposts of the enemy, but has directed it against the very strongest bulwarks of Protestantism, and, as we trust we shall be able to show, of Christianity itself. Dr. Milner, it appears, is not to be dismayed, but renews the attack on the Church of England, which he commenced long ago in his *Letters to a Prebendary*, and that, too, with a very lowering and terrific aspect. He comes forth to the encounter, not, indeed, like a young giant refreshed, and rejoicing in his strength, but like an old one, confident of success from his polemical experience and what he deems the favourable issue of former encounters. With a very formidable array around him, of traditions and fathers—of creeds and of councils—and with an interminable reserve (in the shape of a supplementary or auxiliary host) of dark and doubtful texts, and of still more dark and doubtful comments, he presents himself with the confidence of an invincible opponent.

There is also another part of the Doctor's polemical merits which it would not be quite fair to pass by unnoticed; no man is better skilled than he seems to be in the *Parthian art* (as he has called it) of shooting behind him, when driven off

the field, the random shafts of calumny and defamation. With all these advantages, however, on Dr. Milner's side, we are far, very far indeed, from thinking him, in fair discussion, a formidable opponent: we say in *fair* discussion, which Mr. Grier has amply shown to form but a small part of the controversial lucubrations of Doctor Milner.

Our leading object in the present article being to assert and vindicate the indefeasible right of private judgment in whatever regards faith, religion, and morals, and to controvert the pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome, we proceed to defend *that right*, as the basis of the Church of England. All our inquiries on these subjects will be found ultimately to centre in, or converge to, the doctrine of infallibility; a privilege which we shall endeavour to show, and, we hope satisfactorily, to be altogether unfounded and chimerical. Private judgment becomes firmly established, as soon as the doctrine of infallibility is subverted. This, therefore, is the point to which our attention shall be principally directed; for it is evidently the great hinge upon which the entire controversy turns. Dr. Milner was, therefore, perfectly right in wishing, as he did in his "*Letters to a Prebendary*," to reduce the whole controversy between the churches of England and Rome to a single question. We also find him (though this point has been over-looked by Mr. Grier, as we have already said) dwelling upon the same topic, in more than one passage of his present publication; for instance, in the following words:—"Before I enter into any disquisition on this all-important controversy concerning the *right rule of faith*, ON WHICH THE DETERMINATION OF EVERY OTHER DEPENDS, I will lay down these fundamental maxims, the truth of which, I think, no rational Christian will dispute."—(The end of Religious Controversy, p. 36.) After this remark, and stating these maxims, he proceeds to say:—

"By adhering to these three maxims, we shall quickly, Dear Sir, and clearly perceive the method appointed by Christ, for arriving at the knowledge of the truths which he has taught; in other words, at the *right rule of faith*. Being in possession of this rule, we shall have nothing else, of course, to do, but to make use of it for securely, and, I trust, amicably settling all our controversies. This is the only satisfactory method of composing religious differences, which I alluded to in my above mentioned letter to Dr. Sturges. To discuss them all separately would be an endless task, whereas this method reduces them at once to a single question." (Ib. p. 37.)

And again—"Before I answer your letter, allow me to congratulate with you on your advances towards the *clear sight of the whole truth of Revelation*. As long as you professed to hunt out the

several articles of this, one by one, through the several books of Scripture, and under all the difficulties and uncertainties which I have already shown to attend this search, the task was interminable and success hopeless. Whereas, now, by taking the Church of God for your guide, *you have but one simple inquiry to make : Which is the Church of God ?* a question that admits of being solved by ‘*men of good will,*’ with equal certainty and facility. *I say, that there is but one inquiry to be made ; Which is the true church ?* because if there is any one religious truth more clear than the rest, from reason, from the Scriptures both old and new, from the apostles’ creed, and from constant tradition, it is this, that the Catholic Church preserves the true worship of the Deity ; she being the fountain of truth, the house of faith, and the temple of God, as an ancient father of the church expresses it. *Hence it is as clear as the noon-day light, that, by solving this one question, Which is the true church ? you will at once settle every question of religious controversy, that ever has, or ever can be agitated.*” (Ib. vol. ii. p. 2, 3.)

Although we find several things that are censurable in these passages, the only remark which we deem it now necessary to make on them is, that we fully agree with Dr. Milner in thinking, that the controversy between the churches of England and Rome is reducible to a single question : on this point we accordingly agree to join issue with him. If the Church of Rome, as Dr. Milner and her advocates always contend, be *an infallible one*, she cannot be guilty of any follies, errors, or absurdities, in her doctrinal decisions ; and the fundamental tenet of Protestantism, that is, the right of private judgment in every thing respecting faith and morals, must be grounded in error : but, if this is not the case, and if the Church of Rome is as fallible as any other, both of which points we hope to be able to prove, then there is no reason to say, that the religion of Protestants is to be abandoned, as carrying us out of the safe way of salvation.

Dr. Milner (as Mr. Grier has also remarked) shows considerable dexterity in removing the seat of the war, from the territory of his own church, into those of the enemy ; a practice in which it may not be amiss, occasionally, to follow his example : and, with some gratitude for the hint, it is our intention to practise this mode of controversial warfare, in treating of the question of infallibility. Instead of deriving our polemical armour, or artillery, from the arsenals of Protestantism, we will endeavour to draw from those of the Church of Rome herself. The arsenals, to which we shall recur, are what Dr. Milner calls the infallible decrees of his general councils, and the doctrinal decisions of the Church of Rome. He ought to be aware, that the cause which

we advocate must be triumphant, if we succeed in fixing a single proof of folly, nonsense, contradiction, or absurdity, upon his Popes in their doctrinal decisions, or upon the decrees of his general councils respecting faith and morals; and this, we presume, may be very easily done. It is self-evident, if a single decision of a council, maintained by the partizans of Rome to be infallible, is proved to be foolish, nonsensical, or absurd, or even contradictory to, or inconsistent with, the decrees of any other council, held also to be infallible, that the whole fabric of infallibility is subverted, and, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a wreck behind."

Nobody, we think, will deny that our senses were bestowed upon us by the Giver of "*every good and perfect gift*," not to lie dormant, but to be made the best use of in the business of life, for our own happiness and advantage. That man, who carries the use of any of them, or of all of the senses, to the highest degree of perfection in the practice of the arts, or in the improvement of the sciences, is always held in higher estimation, by the concurring judgments of mankind, than those by whom they are either suffered to lie waste, or to remain unimproved and uncultivated. Nobody, possessed of common sense ever thought of preferring a bad mechanic, or artist, of any kind, to a good one. If such then be really the case with respect to *the senses*, must it not, *à fortiori*, be so likewise with regard to our mental faculties and powers? And as these are, confessedly, of a much higher order than the senses, must it not be self-evident, that they also were intended to be used by us, for the improvement and benefit of our being? Now it must be universally allowed, that, of the mental faculties, the powers of *reasoning* and *judgment* are, by far, the highest in the scale of excellence, and therefore the most important. It must also be allowed, that the man, who possesses these in the greatest degree of perfection, is the most perfect and accomplished of our species. None but fools could ever think of comparing some empty, smattering logician, or some half learned divine, with Locke or Chillingworth. Without the use of our mental faculties, particularly of *judgment* and *reasoning*, we could never have ascertained the divine origin and authority of Revelation: nor could we even know, whether Paganism, Mahometanism, Deism, or Atheism itself, were not preferable to Christianity. It therefore clearly follows, that these faculties must be used by us in all our inquiries concerning faith and morals; and if concerning the origin and general evidences of Christianity, why not also, *in all cases*, where the meaning of the Scriptures may be



obscure, doubtful, or disputable? Like all other ancient writings, the Scriptures have been altered and corrupted by the ignorance, hurry, and even by the frauds, of transcribers. How were these alterations and corruptions to be detected and corrected, except by a candid, earnest, and attentive exertion of our mental powers? Besides these considerations, it deserves to be remarked, that the use of these faculties in matters of religion is no where prohibited in the New Testament: whilst it is certain that there are many passages in it from which the contrary opinion is fairly and clearly deducible. If, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church presumes to prohibit the use of these faculties, in religious inquiries, in opposition to the Scriptures, and merely on the score of its own infallibility, such an argument can have no weight in the present discussion, the object of which is, not only to question that infallibility, but also to prove that it has no existence.

It has been well remarked that private judgment is a *rule*, not *ruling*, but *ruled* by the word of God; and that as such we can never act lawfully against it in obedience to the highest mortals, it being the dictate of conscience, God's deputy in the soul, never to be contradicted. How irrational then, and impious, must it not be to require a man to believe what is not clearly revealed in Scripture? If it be clearly revealed, he cannot but believe it: but, if he does not see it contained in Scripture, it is impossible to force either his *sight* or his *faith*. Consequently *his obedience cannot be required*, without the exercise of his *private judgment*. The maxims of the blind advocates of an infallible church are, however, very different from these: they maintain, even in their catechisms, that we ought to submit our *reason*, as well as our wills, to what they call the law of God; that is, in plain English, to whatever it suits their interested views to characterise by that denomination.

That Saint Paul, whose authority is, at least, as good as that of the Church of Rome, allows the right of private judgment in religious matters, appears to us, as it has done to many before us, plain and unquestionable.—“*I speak* (says he) *as to wise men; JUDGE YE YOURSELVES WHAT I SAY,*” (1 Corinth. x. 15.) And again: “*JUDGE YE YOURSELVES, is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?*” (Ibid. xi. 13.) In another place he writes thus: “*One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. LET EVERY MAN BE FULLY PERSUADED IN HIS OWN MIND.*” (Rom. xiv. 5.) St. Luke is also against the Church of Rome, for he says in the words even of Christ himself:—“*Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is*

*it that ye do not discern this time? YEA, AND WHY EVEN OF YOURSELVES, JUDGE YE NOT WHAT IS RIGHT?"*—(xii. 56.) And again, in the Acts: "*These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, AND SEARCHED THE SCRIPTURES DAILY, WHETHER THOSE THINGS WERE SO.*" (xvii. 11.) But we have even a still higher authority than that of any, or even of all the apostles and evangelists, on our side: for even Christ himself challenged the Jews to search the Scriptures concerning him, and therefore, in recommending the examination of them, must have allowed the undoubted right of *private judgment* in matters of religion and morals.—"*SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES* (said he); *for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me.*" (John v. 25.) To these passages we may add the words of St. Peter, the reputed head of the Roman Catholic church:—"BE READY ALWAYS TO GIVE AN ANSWER TO EVERY MAN THAT ASKETH YOU A REASON OF THE HOPE THAT IS IN YOU."—1 Peter iii. 15.)

In justice to the divines of the Church of Rome, in general, we are ready to admit that most, if not all, of those religious opinions in which they differ from the Church of England, are founded by them on certain passages of the Scriptures; in support of which, however, where holy writ is not sufficiently clear, or explicit, they bring forward also the aid of *tradition*. Their opponents of the Church of England, however, bringing an equal degree of integrity and candour, and certainly a greater share of sound learning and philosophy, to the investigation, are decidedly of opinion that the tenets and practices in question cannot be fairly deduced from, or justified by, the texts and authorities brought to support them; and, further, that the pretended traditions of the Romish divines cannot be relied on in matters of so much importance. It must therefore evidently follow, upon this view of the subject, that it is altogether a matter of doubt whether the disputed doctrines and practices are contained or not in the Scriptures; and consequently that Christians are not obliged to believe any thing positively concerning them, since the opinions of persons of the greatest integrity, candour, and learning, respecting them, are so inconsistent and various.

But the Romish divines do not suffer the matter to rest here: they bring forward an additional argument in support of their practices and opinions. The disputed doctrines and practices, say they, are certainly justified by the Scriptures and by tradition, since the Roman Catholic Church, which is *infallible* in

matters of faith and morals, has decided them to be so. When Roman Catholics are hard run in controversy, this argument is always their last shift; it becomes therefore necessary to sift it to the bottom. The matter then is brought to the issue, that the Roman Church, if it be, as it maintains itself to be, *really infallible*, must necessarily have the better side of this controversy, and that its opinions and practices, in that case, ought to be received in preference to those of its opponents: but should it, on the other hand, upon a full and fair inquiry, appear that the assumed infallibility has no foundation, then it must evidently follow that every Christian is left to the exercise of his own judgment and reason in what concerns morals and religion, just as he is upon every other subject of speculation or research; and therefore that no Christian is bound to believe any thing concerning the doctrines and practices in question, except in proportion as he may find them to be fairly or satisfactorily taught in the New Testament.

The Roman Catholics have long and loudly complained of the British legislature for depriving them of civil and political rights on the score of religion; that is, they claim, as an *indefeasible right*, the *right* or *privilege* of following the religion of *their own choice*; in other words, the religion which their *reason and judgment*, so far as they use them, lead them to consider as the safest and the best. In this instance, therefore, even the Roman Catholics themselves are staunch advocates for the liberty and right of *private judgment*, even in religious matters. No man, they have constantly maintained in their emancipation petitions to the legislature, has any right to controul the religious practices or opinions of another, or to hinder him from adopting or following such as he may think fit. This they affirm for this reason, that a man's religious opinions are not, and cannot be, a subject for the cognizance of his neighbours, being a matter wholly between his God and himself. In this instance therefore, at least, Roman Catholics are as great sticklers as Protestants ever were for the right of private judgment in religious concerns. In answer to this they cannot reply, that their object is civil and political power (though we know that to be the fact), as such a confession would contradict all their petitions and speeches for emancipation. Unfortunately, they will not seek the only emancipation which would do them good, which they really want, and which is entirely in their own power; we mean, an emancipation from spiritual tyranny, and from priestly bondage.

In attempting to prove the infallibility in question, the Ro-

mish divines reason in a circle, or use the circulating syllogism, which, as logicians well know, proves nothing. This dogma, it is clear, cannot be proved by reason; nor will traditional arguments be admitted to possess any weight on this subject by any well-informed or rational opponent. The doctrine, therefore, if at all susceptible of proof, must be proved by Scripture authority alone. That the passages from the New Testament, which the Romish divines adduce for this purpose, are not at all decisive or satisfactory, is clear from the fact, that all their opponents, among whom we find several scholars and divines (to say the least of them) equally well-informed and candid with themselves, agree in giving quite a different interpretation of the passages in question.—It must be therefore manifest, while persons of equal integrity and learning differ so completely with regard to the real meaning and application of those texts, that the assumed infallibility is so far from being demonstrated, that it is not rendered even probable; nor is it, accordingly, incumbent upon any rational inquirer to believe such a tenet in opposition to his own conviction or opinion. When we add to this, that we find many foolish, contradictory, and even absurd decrees in the decisions of their general councils, which, when regularly convened, they hold to be infallible, and these decrees too relating to essential points of religion and morals, we must conclude that their claim to infallibility is wholly unfounded; for, surely it is quite fair and rational to judge, as Christ has told us to do, of the tree by its fruit. The matter, therefore, stands thus in this stage of the controversy. The Romish divines say, that the infallibility of their church is proved by certain texts of Scripture: that it is so proved, however, is positively denied by their opponents availing themselves of the right of private judgment, and of the use of all their mental faculties. Thus far both parties seem to be perfectly equal: but when the Romish divines advance a step further, and affirm that the texts in question *do certainly prove the infallibility*, because their church, which is *an infallible one*, has so interpreted them, then they run into the circulating syllogism, and prove nothing. It is therefore a just remark, that “*The Catholic hierarchy, by insisting that the laity, &c. should receive the sense attached to Scripture by the church, that is by themselves, had thus resolved their authority*” (that of the Romish Church) “*into their own authority to interpret Scripture.*”—Mr. Grier has made a few remarks on this subject, which we submit to our readers: “Throughout the Letters, in which he (Dr. Milner) treats of the ‘*True and false*

*Rules,* Dr. Milner affords repeated instances of the Popish mode of arguing in what is termed a *vicious circle*. With him the church unerringly determines the authority of Scripture, while the authority of Scripture determines the inerrability of the church. He was sensible that the objection had been before successfully made by Protestant writers; and, as if it were in anticipation of its recurrence, he endeavours to elude its force in this fanciful way: he supposes that a personage, calling himself the king's delegate, and whom from circumstances he believed to be really such, had presented him with a letter, in which the king expressed his wish that the same credit should be given his messenger's declaration as would be given his own. Here we may perceive that the delegate represents the church, and the letter *the Scriptures*. He (that is, *the church*), decides infallibly on the authority of the *letter* (that is *the Scriptures*), while *their* authority confirms *his* infallibility. I here ask Dr. Milner, whether the case be like that of the Baptist bearing testimony to Christ, and Christ bearing testimony to the Baptist? or, whether, when he says "that the (Roman) Catholic Church follows the right rule, and the right rule infallibly leads to the (Roman) Catholic Church," Let. 50, p. 192, "he can deny that this is a mutual testimony, which, as running in the vicious circle, is destructive of itself? For, when he believes the Scriptures, because the Church bids him, and believes the Church because the Scriptures bid him, what is it but arguing in a circle, and proving the thing by itself? But I shall not weary the reader's patience with further proofs of such fatuity." (Grier's Reply, &c. p. 32, 33.)

The Romish divines, finding themselves hard pressed, attempt to get out of the straits and absurdities in which this reasoning *in a circle* involves them. But their mode of attempting to extricate themselves is but ill calculated to lessen their perplexities. When accused of adding unnecessarily to Christianity, and of teaching doctrines and practices not sanctioned by the Bible, they endeavour to justify themselves by saying, that their Church does not innovate upon Christianity, inasmuch as she professes to interpret the Scriptures by *the authority of the fathers and by tradition*. Thus, it is affirmed, by their greatest champion (Bossuet), that it is by means of tradition that we learn the true sense of Scripture. But this surely is not true, since even the fathers themselves are very far from being *uniform* in their interpretations of the Scriptures. "The Church," he adds, "will say, as the apostles did, (Acts xv. 28,) '*it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us,*' &c." (Expos. of the Cathol. Faith,

§ 19.) But surely the cases are very far from being *identical*, or indeed similar, for this reason, to say nothing of others, that the apostles gave the best proofs of their inspiration by the numerous and striking miracles which they performed; whereas the bishops of the Church of Rome, even when assembled in their general councils, have left us none of theirs, so far as we can learn—though they have left us, on record, proofs of their ignorance, folly, and absurdities, in abundance.

The pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome being once disproved, it will necessarily follow, that the *peculiar* doctrines and practices of that Church must stand or fall in proportion as they shall appear to all candid and competent inquirers, judging and reasoning to the best of their information and abilities, to be or not to be supported by the authority of the Scriptures. The exercise, therefore, of the judging and reasoning powers of the human mind is not only requisite, but necessary.

But were we even to admit, which we never can, that certain passages of the Scriptures go the length of proving the infallibility of some particular church, we should still contend, that the Romish Church could not be meant by the church in question, as we shall speedily prove, by various examples, that this famous church has fallen into several errors. This being the case, it will follow, that the texts, addressed to St. Peter, in the gospels, or those applied by Romish divines to him and to his supposed successors, the Popes, as well as those others which prove the infallibility of their own church, cannot be extended to the Popes, or to the Church of Rome, in times subsequent to those of the apostles.

So far as we at this moment remember, there are no more than three or four texts of Scripture that have any thing like a direct bearing upon the present question. These have, accordingly, been used to prove, that the promises of supremacy and infallibility, supposed to have been made to Peter and the other apostles, were intended to apply also to Peter's reputed successors, the Popes or Bishops of Rome, and also to the Church of Rome, in every age down to the end of the world. But it seems clear to us, as the power of working miracles was, with very few exceptions, confined to the apostles and disciples, that the privilege of infallibility, if ever it existed after Christ himself, was confined to them also. But were even the apostles themselves, highly gifted as their Divine Master made them, so privileged as to be always infallible, or free from error? To say nothing of the fallibility and weakness of Peter in thrice denying his Master, we know that this prince of the apostles, as the Romish Church calls him, was not only accused of error by St. Paul, but even pleaded guilty to the charge. (Gal. ii. 11, &c.)

With what face, then, can infallibility be ascribed to all, or to any of the Popes, supposing them to be really St. Peter's successors; or, indeed to the Church, when we have it on record that even an inspired apostle was not always infallible? When, therefore, it is thus manifest that even St. Peter could err, and that, too, after *the ascension of Christ*, and at a time when Christianity, being then only in its infancy, stood more in need of *inspired* and *infallible* teachers than at any subsequent period, how can infallibility be supposed to be at present necessary either in the Popes, or the Church of Rome, or indeed in any particular church? Is it at all probable, or even likely, that Christ would have bestowed the highest of all possible gifts, that of *inerrancy* or *infallibility*, upon *INFERIORS*, when he had not, as we know from this fact respecting St. Peter, *fully* bestowed it, either upon *the apostles themselves*, or upon *their reputed head*?

The individuals who assist at a general council are obliged to exercise their powers of judgment and reasoning on the various topics on which they are called to decide. The Church of Rome does not maintain that each of the members of a general council is inspired; for, in that case, the opinions of the most ignorant would be of equal weight and value with those of the most wise and learned. Now, if the use of judgment and reasoning be required (as we shall prove them to be, on the authority of the Council of Trent,) even in those who are said to be inspired and directed by the Holy Spirit, in order to form a correct decision, just as much as it is in those who pretend to no inspiration at all, may we not ask how much of the supposed infallible decisions of the Romish Church is to be ascribed to the mere natural powers of judgment and reasoning, and what portion of them is the peculiar or exclusive result of divine inspiration? At all events, whether this question admits of any adequate solution or not, it is evident, even from the words of the Council of Trent itself, that divines, whether inspired, or guided and assisted solely by their own learning and mental faculties, must always exert their powers of reasoning and judgment, to arrive at the truth in matters of religion.

It would be doing an injustice to our readers, as well as to our argument, not to take notice of the declarations of the Church of Rome on this subject. The following words form a portion of the edifying remarks of the Fathers of Trent in their *second session*:—" *Ipsa synodus hortatur omnes Catholicos hic congregatos, et congregandos, atque eos præsertim, qui sacrarum literarum peritiam habent, ut sedulâ meditatione diligenter secum ipsi cogitent, quibus potissimum viis et modis, ipsius synodi intentio dirigi, et optatum effectum sortiri possit.*" And again:—" *In sententiis vero*

*dicendis \* \* \* nullus debeat, aut immodestis vocibus perstrepere, aut tumultibus perturbare; nullus etiam falsis, vanisve, aut obstinatis disceptationibus contendere: sed, quidquid dicatur, sic mitissimâ verborum prolatione temperetur, ut nec audientes offendantur, nec recti iudicii acies perturbato animo inflectatur.*" What a pretty picture is afforded us, in these extracts and advices, even by the fathers themselves, of the scenes of violence, tumult, and disorder, which we know from history to have been frequent in the general councils. It is, surely, a very curious picture of an œcumenical synod, said to be assembled, as the Romish divines maintain all of them to have been, under the influence and immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, (or, to use the words of the Trent Fathers, "*in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata.*") to tell us, that it was necessary to lecture them about their behaviour like a parcel of disorderly or riotous schoolboys, and to advise them *not to talk indecently, or to act in too noisy, tumultuous, or disorderly a manner!* These advices and regulations remind us of those of an Empress of Russia, mentioned in Goldsmith's works, in which she commanded, *that the ladies should not come drunk to the ball-room, and that no gentleman should strike or knock down a lady at a public assembly!!*—"Each of the other is the parallel."

The real state of the facts, as the Romish divines maintain, is, that the bishops, when assembled in councils, by regular authority, are not individually infallible, for they often differ in opinion: but they give their judgments by *vote*, and it is only to the *general result* of these votes so given, that they claim infallibility. Again, it is not for every decision of their Popes that they claim infallibility, but only for those which Popes pronounce authoritatively, or "*ex cathedra*," and which are afterwards received as just by the great body of the dispersed bishops. At the fourth session of the famous Council of Trent, at which, it is well known, *the divine authority of the Vulgate Latin Bible, of the Apocrypha, and of tradition*, was decreed, only *forty-eight* bishops and *five* cardinals were present. The doctrine, however, of the Romish Church on this point, as already stated, is that *when all the bishops are lawfully summoned*, whatever number may attend, whether *ten or ten thousand*, their decisions are infallible. Of the fifty-three prelates who pronounced thus definitively on the foregoing most important, and hitherto undetermined, points, not one individual was remarkable for profound theological knowledge, or, indeed, for any kind of sound philosophical or classical learning. Nor can it, therefore, but be considered as something very extraordinary, that they should have hurried over, *in so thin a meeting*, a business of this kind, which, from its paramount importance, required the fullest attendance, and the most mature and deli-



berate consideration. What renders their conduct in this affair still more strange is, that they themselves, in their third session, made a declaration in favour of the propriety of having their decisions sanctioned by meetings as numerous and respectable as possible. Their own words on this point are:—"Eadem sacrosancta, œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata, in eâ præsidentibus eisdem tribus apostolicæ sedis legatis, intelligens multos prælatos, ex diversis partibus, accinctos esse itineri, nonnullos etiam in viâ esse, quo huc veniant; *cogitansque omnia, ab ipsâ sacrâ synodo, decernenda, eo majoris apud omnes existimationis et honoris videri posse, quo majori fuerint et pleniori patrum consilio et præsentiâ sancita, et corroborata; statuit, &c.*" Surely these infallible fathers must have had very short memories, when, in the *very next session*, that is, in the course of a single month, after having put forth the above declaration, "*it seemed good to them,*" and no doubt also, as they would have us believe, "*to the Holy Spirit,*" (whom they always take good care to render responsible for a portion of their nonsense or absurdity,) to decree the divine authority of the *Vulgate Latin Bible*, of the *Apocrypha*, and of *tradition*, in a meeting so thin as to consist of only five cardinals and forty-eight bishops!!

It is no small argument against the truth of this doctrine of infallibility, that it is peculiarly calculated to damp, or rather to check altogether, the spirit of free inquiry; and, therefore, the possibility of religious or theological improvement. As soon as men fancy themselves to be in possession of perfect knowledge upon any point, what inducement can they possibly have to undergo the toils and fatigue of further inquiry? It deserves, therefore, to be remembered, that the Romish Church has acted with perfect consistency in the spirit which we are condemning; for it is notorious that this church has, at all times, shown itself the determined enemy of research and improvement. The books condemned by the popes, councils, universities, and bishops, were such in general as were written in an honest and liberal spirit of inquiry; while several of them were, in the opinions of the best and most disinterested judges, as well as in the estimation of all Europe, first-rate performances. Well, therefore, has it been said, "*If you wish for a good book, look into an inquisitor's prohibited list; if you seek a good cause, choose that which interested men dislike.*" We must add, besides, that this system was calculated, not only to keep mankind in the dark, but also to screen effectually the errors and abuses of the Church itself, and thus to keep them secure, not only from the fear of exposure, but even from any chance of being reformed. Nor was it the public alone, or mankind in

general, that this system was calculated, or probably intended, to hoodwink, or keep in the dark, but even the inferior orders of the clergy of the Church of Rome itself, who would expose themselves to what the Romish divines call a *censure*, should they attempt to read any of the prohibited books without the previous permission of their superiors.

We have said that this doctrine of infallibility was calculated to damp the spirit of free inquiry, if not to suppress it altogether. In confirmation of the truth of this remark, we may now add, that the Romish Church has never been a promoter or encourager of the reading and study of the Scriptures among its numerous followers. It is a curious illustration of this fact, that we have known several Roman Catholic clergymen, whose scanty libraries did not contain a copy of the Bible in any language. It has often struck us as singular, that the Church of Rome should have forgotten to bear in mind the curse pronounced, even by Christ himself, against the lawyers, in St. Luke's Gospel: "*Woe unto you, lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.*" (Luke ii. 46.) It is, as we have already remarked, rather singular, that the Church of Rome should shut her eyes to the above denunciation in St. Luke, especially as several, if not all, of their own commentators, allow that the knowledge there alluded to by Christ was that of the Scriptures. Well, surely, may it be said of the Romish divines, when they assert their own church to be infallible, and maintain her doctrine, that *she alone can understand the Scriptures*,—that "*they love darkness rather than light.*" (John iii. 16.)

Had the general councils of the Church of Rome contented themselves with stating what they considered to be the meaning of difficult or disputed passages in the Bible, their conduct might be deemed excusable, if not praiseworthy. This, however, it seems, was not sufficient to answer the purposes of the Church; and accordingly we find that they have not satisfied themselves with authoritative explanations of particular passages, but have frequently gone the length of passing declaratory decrees,—that is, decrees stating what was, or what was not taught in the Scriptures *generally*. For instances we may refer to various parts of the Council of Trent; thus, to canons 1, 3, 5, "*De sacramentis in genere*," (sess. 7,) and to canon 1, "*De sacrificio missæ*," (sess. 22.) The reader will find the passages in the note.\*

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\* "De Sacramentis in Genere."

\* CANON I.

"Si quis dixerit sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo, Domino nostro, instituta; aut esse plura; aut pauciora, quam septem, videlicet,

Instead of making a creed or confession of faith the *result*, and, indeed, as it ought to have been, the *final result* of all their deliberations, the Council of Trent *began* with the formation of one: a sure proof, were one necessary, that their object, whatever they may pretend to the contrary, was not the correction of errors or the reformation of abuses, but the confirmation of the opinions and practices previously maintained and established in the Romish Church. Hear how the fathers themselves speak on the subject:—"Itaque, ut hæc pia ejus sollicitudo principium et progressum suum per Dei gratiam habeat, ANTE OMNIA statuit et decerni præmittendam esse confessionem fidei, patrum exempla in hoc secuta, qui sacratoribus consiliis hoc scutum contra omnes hæreses in principio suarum actionum apponere consuevere; quo solo aliquando et infideles ad fidem traxerunt, hæreticos expugnaverunt et fideles confirmaverunt." (sess. 3.) This *very consistent* mode of proceeding is what the holy fathers have called "taking up the shield of faith, to enable them to extinguish all the fiery weapons of the wicked one." Thus too it is that they pretend to put on "the helmet of the hope of salvation;" and to fight with "the sword of the spirit," "the word of God." "*In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possint omnia tela nequissimi ignea extingueri, atque galeam spei salutis accipiant, cum gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei.*" (Ibid. and Ephes. c. 6.)

But now that the wise proceedings of this *infallible* council reminds us of the fact already noticed by us, it is again worthy of remark that but few, if indeed any persons of really sound classical and philosophical learning were present at its numerous sittings and deliberations. One would be inclined to suppose that the prelate chosen to preach the inauguration sermon, which immediately preceded the opening of the council,

Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, Extremam Unionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium, aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie sacramentum; anathema sit."

#### CANON III.

"Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nullâ ratione aliud sit alio dignius; anathema sit."

#### CANON V.

"Si quis dixerit hæc sacramenta propter solam fidem nutriendam instituta fuisse; anathema sit."

#### "De Sacrificio Missæ."

#### CANON I.

"Si quis dixerit in Missâ non offerri Deo verum et proprium Sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud, quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari; anathema sit."

must have been distinguished for his talents or acquirements. Of this, however, the following extract will enable us to form as correct an opinion as if we had been present at the holy father's discourse. This sermon was preached by the Bishop of *Biponts*, who attempted to prove, by the most childish reasoning, and in the worst taste, "That a Council was necessary, because several councils had extirpated heresy, and deposed kings and emperors; because the poets assemble councils of the Gods; because Moses writes that at the creation of man, and in confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; because religion has three heads, doctrine, sacraments, and charity, and all these three are termed a council." The holy father proceeds, and exhorts the members of the Council to strict unity, like that of the heroes in the Trojan horse! He asserts "that the gates of Paradise and of the Council are the same; that the holy father's should sprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwise the Holy Spirit would open their mouths like those of Balaam and Caiaphas." (Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent.) This extract, it must be owned, affords us no very favourable sample of the learning and wisdom of the renowned fathers of Trent.

In answer to the arguments drawn from certain passages of the Scriptures applicable to St. Peter and the other apostles, so far as these passages may be supposed to have any tendency to prove the infallibility claimed by the general councils and by the popes, it may be, and it has been justly alleged, that the apostles did not transmit to their successors, the *bishops*, all the powers with which they were themselves invested. They could not, for instance, confer on the bishops the power of testifying, like themselves, the resurrection of Christ. Besides, it may be added, that the apostolical office was not only different from, but superior to the episcopal. Though many bishops were appointed during the lives of the apostles, they are no where, so far as we can discover, called *apostles*, but always *bishops*. Again, the authority of the bishops was confined to small portions of the church, while that of the apostles extended to the entire church. All the apostles acted in the choice of Matthias. (Acts, i.) Each apostle could ordain bishops. Each of the apostles was infallible in doctrine: This not one of the bishops was, nor is, though they claim infallibility in their collective capacity when assembled in general councils. The powers of apostles and bishops were different. Supposing the popes to be really the successors of St. Peter, it could not possibly have been to his *apostolical*, or *universal* authority, which, as already remarked, extended to

the whole church, that they succeeded. *All* the apostles had *universal* authority; and yet we hear of no successor to any of them in *this* authority, except to *Peter alone*. If there be any *clear, direct, and satisfactory* texts of Scripture to show that *all* the powers conferred upon the apostles were intended to extend to their successors, the bishops, or to any of them, let them be produced.

We shall now proceed to show by a few examples taken from the decrees of her own general councils, that the Church of Rome has not the character and credentials of infallibility. We have said by *a few* examples, because our limits necessarily confine us; and because *one example*, if satisfactory and conclusive, is as decisive of this question as *ten thousand*. Instead of going further back into antiquity, and selecting our first cases in point from the records of the earlier councils, it is our intention to begin with the last and most noted of them all, the far-famed Council of Trent. This synod, after various delays and postponements, at last held its first session on the 13th of December, 1545; and after sitting, with a few intermissions, for *eighteen* years, was finally dissolved, having concluded its 25th session, on the 4th of December, 1563.

We have already stated that at the celebrated *fourth* session of this council, at which *the divine authority* of the *Vulgate Latin Bible*, of the *Apocrypha*, and of *tradition*, was *finally* decreed, there were no more than five cardinals and forty-eight bishops present, out of the universal church. This sitting was held on the 8th of April, 1546. Thus then does it appear, that the most important questions decided by the fathers of Trent, were settled in a meeting of only *fifty-three* ecclesiastics, none of whom has left a name behind him for great proficiency in any species of learning. But the very curious and consistent mode in which these infallible fathers proceeded in this most memorable assembly, is worthy of further consideration, and affords one of the most extraordinary illustrations on record, of the *fallible* operations of that *infallible* spirit, by which the general councils of the Church of Rome pretend themselves to be guided and actuated. It was thus:—In the *first* place, they decreed, that *the ancient Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible* was *correct, sacred, and canonical*; not merely in general, or as a whole, but even (mind the expression) *IN ALL ITS PARTS*, and ordered it to be received as such, under the penalty of an anathema.\* This, however, though rather a

\* "Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, anathema sit." And again, "Insuper eandem sacrosancta synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesie Dei,

bold step, was not quite enough; for in a *subsequent* part even of the very same session, they ordered a new and MORE CORRECT edition of this very *Vulgate Latin Bible*, or *translation*, to be printed; "*Decernit et statuit ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, POTISSIMUM VERO HÆC IPSA VETUS ET VULGATA EDITIO QUAM EMENDATISSIME IMPRIMATUR.*" Thus was this famous translation FIRST ordered by them to be received, under the penalty of damnation, as *correct, sacred, and canonical*, IN ALL ITS PARTS ("in omnibus suis partibus,") and then pronounced almost in the same breath, by these same infallible men, to be capable of EMENDATION! ("*quam emendatissime imprimatur.*") The farther we recede from the truth, the more difficult shall we find it to return to it. So far as we can judge from the ordinary share of common sense possessed by men now-a-days, we should be apt to suppose that these holy and infallible fathers went quite far enough, when they decreed A MERE TRANSLATION (the Latin Vulgate) to be of equal authority in all controversies respecting morals and religion with THE ANCIENT HEBREW AND GREEK ORIGINALS. A commentator, however, of some celebrity in the Church of Rome, namely, the Jesuit *Tirinus*, has gone still further, and affirmed that this very Vulgate translation is OF MORE AUTHORITY EVEN THAN THE ORIGINALS. \*

It would however seem that one absurdity was not considered sufficient by these fifty-three infallible fathers, for the business of one session; and they accordingly proceeded to decree no less than three or four at the same memorable sitting. Thus, notwithstanding the unavoidable errors of manuscripts, transcribers, compositors, printers, correctors and editors, after decreeing the *equal authority* of a mere translation, and its perfect *integrity*, not merely as a whole, but even IN ALL ITS PARTS, they proceeded, as we have already shown, to order that a new and corrected edition of this already *correct, sacred, and canonical*, that is perfect work, should be forthwith published!—To decree the *equal authority* of any translation of an ancient original work, full of obscurities and difficulties, was certainly

si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferantur, sacrærum librorum, quænam pro authenticâ habenda sit, innotescat; statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsâ ecclesiâ probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authenticâ habeatur: et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præsumat." "Omnes, itaque, intelligant quo ordine et viâ ipsa synodus, post jactum fidei confessionis fundamentum, sit progressura, et quibus potissimum testimonis ac præsidii, in confirmandis dogmatibus, et restaurandis in ecclesiâ moribus, sit usura."

\* See the "*Index Controuersiarum*," in his *Latin Commentaries on the Bible*, in 2 vols. folio, cap. 2. § 9.

going great lengths, and exposing to much cavil the claim of infallibility; especially when it is considered that there was not probably in that sitting one person well versed either in Greek or Hebrew, the study of which was scarcely at all attended to in that age. But to pronounce *mere tradition*, whether it regards matters of *faith* or of *discipline*, of equal authority with the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, was, we think, carrying the bravery of unsupported assertion as far as it could well be carried. And this, it is well known by all who have looked into their decrees, was the first step taken by the fathers of Trent at this famous fourth stage, or session of their proceedings. The language of the fathers themselves, in which they declare that *they receive these unwritten traditions with equal respect, piety, and veneration as they do the Scriptures themselves*, is worth transcribing: "Sacrosancta, œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, &c. &c. perspicuens hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ipsius Christi ore ab apostolicis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis apostolis, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt; orthodoxorum Patrum exemplasecutæ, omnes libros tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continuâ successione in ecclesiâ Catholica conservatas, PARI PIETATIS AFFECTU AC REVERENTIA SUSCIPIT ET VENERATUR." And again: "Si quis, autem, traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contemserit, anathema sit." If in fifteen or sixteen hundred years hence, a synod of critics or historians should maintain that the accounts preserved by *mere tradition*, relative to the *Battle of Waterloo*, were of EQUAL AUTHORITY with the *historical accounts* of the same events regularly compiled in the present times, supposing the latter to be correctly preserved and authentically handed down to posterity at that period, would they not be laughed at, and that too most deservedly, by all men of common sense? And what is there to prevent us from thinking and speaking in the same manner respecting the conduct of these fathers of Trent, in presuming to pronounce the traditions of the Church of equal authority with the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments? Their decree on this occasion appears to the eye of common sense very absurd; not less so indeed than their other decree of the same session, by which it appears, that "*it seemed good to the Holy Spirit*" (as they modestly speak on these occasions) "*and to them,*" to declare the equal authority of the Vulgate Latin translation of the Bible and of the ancient Hebrew and

Greek originals. Justly may it be said of these worthy fathers; that “ *they made the word of God of no effect, by their traditions.*”

Most of our readers, if we do not greatly deceive ourselves, will agree with us in thinking, that the preceding decrees betray more of the spirit of folly and presumption, than of infallibility. The following extract from the proceedings of the same session, against the right of individuals to interpret the Scriptures in opposition to the sense attached to any part of them, by the Church of Rome, will be found of a similar stamp and character :—

“ *Præterea, ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum, ad edificationem doctrinæ christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimam consensum Patrum, ipsam scripturam sacram interpretari audeat; ETIAMSI HUIUSMODI INTERPRETATIONES NULLO UNQUAM TEMPORE IN LUCEM EDENDÆ FORENT. Qui contravenerint, per ordinarios declarentur, et pœnis a jure statutis puniantur.*”

To show, that the spirit, by which these infallible fathers were actuated, was not peculiar to themselves, or confined to that epoch, we shall transcribe two passages, one from an ancient father of the church, Tertullian, and the other from a modern father, we mean Dr. Milner himself. These, we think, will clearly demonstrate, that, in one respect, at least, the spirit of the Church of Rome has been the same in the *third*, the *sixteenth*, and the *nineteenth* centuries. The last extracts from the Council of Trent are our vouchers for the *sixteenth* century; Tertullian will answer for the *third* century; and Dr. Milner for the *present*. Let us begin, however, by citing the very curious and edifying words of the latter.

“ Before I enter (says Dr. Milner) on the discussion of any part of Scripture, with you, or your friends, *I am bound, dear sir, in conformity with my rule of faith, as explained by the fathers, and particularly by Tertullian, to protest against your and their right to argue from Scripture, and, of course, to deny any need there is of my replying to any objection, which you may draw from it. For I have reminded you, that ‘no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation;’ and I have proved to you, that the whole business of the Scriptures belongs to the Church. She has preserved them, she vouches for them, and she alone, by confronting them, and by help of tradition, authoritatively explains them. Hence, it is impossible, that the real sense of Scripture should ever be against her and her doctrine; and hence, of course, I might quash every objection which you can draw from any passage in it, by this short reply, the Church understands the passage differently from you; therefore, you mistake its meaning. Nevertheless, ‘as charity beareth all things and never faileth,’ I will, for the better satisfying you and*



your friends, quit my vantage ground, for the present, and answer distinctly to every text, which any of you, gentlemen, or which Dr. Porteus himself has brought against the Catholic method of religion." (End of Rel. Controv. vol. i. p. 407, 408.)

We shall quote the passage from Tertullian, in Dr. Milner's own English version of it. Speaking of the heretics of his time, Tertullian says :—

"They meddle with the Scriptures and adduce arguments from them: for, in treating of faith, they pretend, that they ought not to argue upon any other ground than the written documents of faith: thus they weary the firm, catch the weak, and fill the middle sort with doubts. *We begin, therefore, with laying it down as a maxim, that these men ought not to be allowed to argue at all from Scripture.* In fact, these disputes about the sense of Scripture have, generally, no other effect than to disorder the stomach, or the brain. *It is, therefore, the wrong method to appeal to the Scriptures, since these afford either no decision, or, at most, only a doubtful one.* And, even if this were not the case, still, in appealing to Scripture, *the natural order of things requires, that we should first inquire to whom the Scriptures belong? From whom, and by whom, and on what occasion, and to whom that tradition was delivered, by which we became christians? For, where the truth of christian faith is found, there is the truth of Scripture, and of the interpretation of it, and of all christian traditions.*"

He elsewhere says :—

"That doctrine is evidently true, which was first delivered: on the contrary, that is false, which is of a later date. This maxim stands immovable against the attempts of all late heresies. Let such then produce the origin of their churches. Let them show the succession of their bishops from the apostles, or from their disciples. If you live near Italy, you see before you eyes the Roman church: happy church, to which the apostles have left the inheritance of their doctrine with their blood. Where Peter was crucified, like his Master; where Paul was beheaded, like the Baptist! If this be so, it is plain, as we said, that heretics are not to be allowed to appeal to Scripture, since they have no claim to it. Hence, it is proper to address them as follows: *Who are you? whence do you come? what business have you, strangers, with my property? by what right are you, Marcion, felling my trees? by what authority are you, Valentine, turning the course of my streams? under what pretence are you, Appelles, removing my landmarks? The estate is mine: I have the ancient, the prior possession of it. I have the title deeds delivered to me by the original proprietors. I am the heir of the apostles: they have made their will in my favour; while they disinherited and cast you off as strangers and enemies.*"\*

r. Milner, no doubt for the purpose of pointing out all its y striking beauties, and to testify his own high sense of its

\* Præscript. advers. Hæres. Edit. Rhénan. pp. 36, 37 — And End of Relig. Controversy, vol. i. pp. 110, 11, 12.

merits, has thought proper to print the concluding part of these extracts in *italics*. In this instance we have followed his example, although we are not aware, that it is possible to add to their emphatic absurdity. We do not remember having ever read, in any work, ancient or modern, three passages more presumptuous, shameless, and sophistical, than those which we have just quoted from Dr. Milner and Tertullian. We are even very doubtful whether we could point out a parallel to them in any language.

The next example, in support of our opinions and argument, shall be taken from the Trent Canons, on the subject of the Eucharist. Allowing then, for a moment, merely for the sake of argument (for, otherwise, the doctrine is perfectly unsupported, and, indeed, absurd), that the Romish doctrine on the subject of transubstantiation is deducible from certain passages of the New Testament, we must still be allowed to ask, on what grounds the fathers of Trent proceeded, when they passed their first canon on the subject of the Eucharist? Admitting that they could adduce Scripture texts sufficiently clear to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, that is, to prove that the *body and blood* of Christ are *substantially* present in the sacrament, yet we wish to know and would willingly learn from the Romish divines, what Scripture authorities can be produced in support of their doctrine, that, not only the body and blood, but even THE VERY SOUL AND DIVINITY OF CHRIST ARE ACTUALLY PRESENT IN THE EUCHARIST? This, however, is the case, if we believe the Trent fathers, who, by their decree, have bestowed upon a sinful, and frequently an ignorant priest, or at best upon a merely finite and mortal being, the power, if not of creating a divinity, at least of bringing down upon earth, in express contradiction to the Scriptures, on the same day, and at the same hour, perhaps, in a hundred thousand parts of the world, the only begotten Son of God from the right hand of his Father. Their own words are the best record of their infallible opinions:—"Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, UNA CUM ANIMA ET DIVINITATE DOMINI NOSTRI, JESU CHRISTI, AC PROINDE TOTUM CHRISTUM; sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo, ut in signo, vel figuro, aut virtute, anathema sit." Their *third* canon is equally absurd:—"Si quis negaverit, in venerabili sacramenta eucharistiæ, *sub unaquaque specie, sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus, separatione facta, TOTUM CHRISTUM contineri*, anathema sit." They add also in the *fourth*:—"Si quis dixerit in hostiis, seu particulis consecratis, quæ post communionem reservantur, vel supersunt, non remanere verum corpus Domini, anathema sit."

To these palpable instances of the fallibility of the Church of Rome, it is our intention to add only one fact more, at present, taken from the earlier records of christianity. The Romish Church, as already noticed, professes not to innovate, in matters of religion, but only to teach the doctrines handed down to her in regular and uninterrupted succession, since the days of the apostles: and yet has it presumed, without Scripture authority, or rather in direct contradiction to it, to make an addition to the words addressed, by the Angel Gabriel, to the Virgin Mary, in the beginning of St. Luke's gospel: "*Hail, highly favoured,*" (or, "full of grace,") *the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women;*" to which Elizabeth added, "*And blessed is the fruit of thy womb.*" The reader may also remember the Romish prayer, called the "*Ave Maria,*" or "*Hail Mary,*" which was manufactured out of these extracts, with the following absurd and impious conclusion: "*Holy Mary, MOTHER OF GOD, pray for us, sinners, now, and in the hour of our death, amen.*" In giving the names of impious and absurd to this addition, we allude to the words MOTHER OF GOD, introduced in direct opposition to the language of the whole New Testament. We are well assured that our Redeemer possesses the fulness of the godhead, and, as touching the same, is equal to the Father; still the words, *Mother of God*, as applied to him, are, in every sense, unwarranted and unprecedented, and the doctrine contained in, or implied by them, a gross and palpable absurdity. When the Church of Rome resolved upon giving a *Mother to God*, that is, *of providing a mother for an infinite, uncreated, and eternal Being*, one would be tempted to imagine, that their notions of the nature and character of the Deity went no higher than to the scale of those worthies, who passed for divinities among the pagan world. To call Mary *the Mother of God*, because she was the mother of Christ, so far *merely* as his *simple humanity*, or manhood, was concerned, is a most curious, and, indeed, extraordinary illustration of the infallibility of the Romish Church. When weak and fallible men, voluntarily excluding the light, and shutting their eyes upon their own fallibility, will go the length of fancying themselves infallible, what folly and nonsense may not be expected from them? If those, however, which we have been describing, be really, as they appear to be, the genuine fruits of the tree of infallibility, we know of no other tree, that can pretend to be its peer, except the noted *upas*, or poison tree of Java. Christ, it will be remembered, has told us to judge of the tree by its fruit: now, though the fruit, or rather the effects of the *upas* tree, be poison and death; and those of the tree of infallibility be only folly, absurdity, and nonsense; yet, it is quite certain,

that the *former* has fallen infinitely short of the *latter*, in the real misery and calamities which it has diffused, and so long entailed upon mankind.

Having now gone through a few of the examples and arguments, to which we had resolved to confine ourselves, in encountering the tenet of Romish infallibility, we think we may safely terminate the controversy here, leaving to Dr. Milner the task of refuting us, if he can. He frequently expatiates in boasting terms, and sounding phrases, (see his work, vol. iii. p. 5, and vol. ii. Postscript) of the proofs and demonstrations, by which he would persuade his correspondents that he had fully established his doctrines and opinions; but is it possible to produce out of this work, which he has been improving for twenty years, a single instance in which he has established any important point in dispute between Romish and Protestant divines, by half so decisive a demonstration as that which we have just concluded against the infallibility of his Church?

The pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome being once set aside, it follows that the right of private judgment in religious matters is fully established. But, in reply to this, it has been often objected, that the great and ignorant mass of mankind are (and must for ever be) incapable of thinking and judging correctly for themselves on matters so difficult and obscure as those in question; and, therefore, that the liberty of private judgment, even if it were not pernicious, would be of no use to nine-tenths of mankind. So far as the illiterate and ignorant are concerned, all this may be granted, without such a concession being at all conclusive against the right itself. The great body of the people, by their circumstances and situation, must ever rely on the authority of those who are better informed, and have more leisure for inquiry than themselves. But, notwithstanding all this, it may still be answered, that the great mass of mankind are fully competent to understand and to admit the leading truths of Christianity; for instance, those contained in the Apostles' creed, they being, for the most part, historical; and that the hearty belief of these alone, coupled with holiness of life, is all that is necessary for salvation. Had the apostles, or those who framed their creed (which was done at least in their age), been of opinion that the belief of a greater number of articles was necessary for this purpose, they would, no doubt, have been introduced into this creed. Their not having done so, shows what their opinions were on the subject; and it is ever to be regretted, that divines in after ages have not had the good sense to follow their wise example in this respect, instead of perplexing

mankind with a multitude of presumptuous subtleties, and enlisting them in wrangling and mischievous squabbles and controversies without number. With respect to these, and indeed to all the abstruse, speculative, or theoretical dogmas, about which controversial divines have been so long writing and wrangling, it would be idle to suppose that it is necessary for the great body of the people, that is, for the illiterate and vulgar mass of mankind, to believe any thing.

Though Dr. Milner has written an entire volume on what he calls *the characteristics of the true Church*; viz. *unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity*, we must at present confine ourselves to a few remarks on this part of his work. The Romish divines endeavour to establish an *exclusive* claim to these *four marks*, yet it is certain that they are far from possessing the *unity* of which they have been always so boastful. It is well known that they have been, at all times, divided upon very important points; for instance, in the affair of the Jansenists and Jesuits,—in the eternal war carried on between the Franciscans and Dominicans,—and the Scotists and Thomists, on matters both of doctrine and discipline; as well as in the disputes so frequent among the popes and bishops, on points of authority and jurisdiction. In addition to these, we may refer to those strange proofs of *unity*, the various *schisms* of the Romish Church, amounting to *twenty-three grand ones*, according to *Pauvinus*; (*Chronicon*, ed. 1668, and to *twenty-six*, according to *Petavius*; (*Tab. Chron. Scismat. et Antipaporum*, ed. 1724,) as well as to the fact that, within the same period, there were no less than *thirty-two* usurping and schismatical popes!—(*Pauvinus*, *ib.*) What was called the *great Western schism*, which began in 1378, and ended in 1428, may also be referred to. For the *fifty* years during which this dissension was fomented with such fatal success, the Church of Rome had two or three different heads at the same time; “a circumstance,” says Mr. Grier, very justly, p. 407, “which does away all its claims to *unity, sanctity, and infallibility*.”—(*Mosh. Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 316—328.) As to the mark of *sanctity*, they cannot deny that this, in its true sense, is frequently to be found among their opponents as well as themselves, however great the accumulation during the great length of time that the Church of Rome has existed, of what they denominate *saints*. With regard to *catholicity*, or *universality*, their claim will appear, from a few facts, to be altogether unfounded. “According to a correct statistical account, lately published in France, of the population and different denominations of Christian Europe, the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants of different communions, in a *ratio* of somewhat

less than *two and a half to two*; the former being stated at *one hundred*, and the latter at *forty-two millions*. Now, if to these *forty-two millions* be added *thirty-two millions* of what the French calculator calls *schismatic Greeks*, meaning those not in communion with, or under the jurisdiction of the papal see; and likewise upwards of half a million of other denominations, including Herrnhutters, Menonists, &c. &c. who equally protest against popish errors; the gross number of all the sects, dissentient from the Church of Rome, would amount to somewhat more than *seventy-four millions and a half*. According to this calculation, the proportion of Roman Catholics in Europe to other Christians of different denominations would be somewhat less than *one and a third to one*."—(Grier's Reply, &c. p. 408, 409.) Had the Romish divines contented themselves with saying, that they were the most numerous, their claim might be allowed; but, in pretending to catholicity, or universality, they oppose themselves to plain facts: and, it is worthy of remark, that the word "*holy*" only existed in the real Apostles' Creed, the clause having been originally, "*I believe in the HOLY Church*," the word *catholic* being a subsequent innovation, made by the Church herself, without authority. With respect to the fourth, or last mark, *apostolicity*, it is clear that all sects of Christians have their origin in that source, inasmuch as they have all derived their common Christianity from the preaching and writings of the apostles and evangelists.

We have remarked, that the *unity* or *uniformity* of belief, so much talked of by Romish divines, is not possessed even by their own Church. This uniformity is, in fact, as it has been well remarked, but a mere name, existing neither in belief nor in profession. How very different were the opinions of the Jesuits and Jansenists, in France, respecting faith, and almost every point of duty. Catholics themselves are very far from agreeing as to the extent of the power of their popes, as is notorious from the disputes between the *Ultramontanists* and their opponents, the Italian divines. Neither do they agree as to the real seat of infallibility in their own Church, though that may be called the foundation of their *uniformity*; some supposing that it rests with the pope (and this was the opinion of several of the popes themselves), as appears from their bulls; some think that it is vested in the pope and cardinal; while others ascribe it to the general councils, with the popes at their head; and, finally, there are those who ascribe it to a general council, without the concurrence of the pope; alleging, what is sufficiently true—that the Roman emperors presided at some of the general councils. It is affirmed by cardinal Cusanus, that the

emperors, or their deputies, were present at eight of them. And *Bellarmino*, the most able of the advocates of the Roman Catholics, repeatedly affirms, that several of the Roman Catholic writers agreed with *heretics*, in asserting the councils to be above the popes.—(*De Conciliis*, l. 2, c. 14, *et alibi*.) Here, it has been well remarked, is high authority for diversity of opinion in the Church of Rome.

Severe, as Dr. Milner's admirers may think that we have been upon him thus far, the charge which we now proceed to bring against him is of a far heavier nature, involving something like a breach of moral integrity. Our accusation is indeed so very grave, that, for the sake of literary integrity and controversial fair dealing, as well as of the credit of his character, we wish, though we fear in vain, that he may be able to extricate himself from it. Our charge against him is *the voluntary garbling, and the voluntary suppression* of most important evidence, in many instances; but, more especially, his *voluntary mutilation* of a very important passage in one of the ancient fathers, whom Dr. Milner has quoted in support of *transubstantiation*, though he could not but know, if quoted fully and impartially, that his declarations were wholly subversive of that incredible dogma. The writer to whom we allude is St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, the full authority of whose writings is admitted by the divines of the Church of Rome. To make good our charge, we shall first give a fair and impartial translation of the passage in question, to which we shall add Dr. Milner's mutilation and garbling of it, in his own words. In the note will be subjoined, in the original Greek, some of the parts which he has omitted, and which will be found to be the most important portions of the whole.

"Since then (says Cyril) Christ declared and told us of the bread—'*This is my body*,' who shall venture any longer to raise a doubt?—And since he affirmed and said—'*This is my blood*,' who shall doubt, saying this is not his blood?—He once changed water into wine, at Cana in Galilee, by his own power, and is he not to be believed when he changes wine into blood?—Being called to a corporeal wedding, he wrought this unexpected miracle; and shall he not much rather be acknowledged, when giving to the children of the bridechamber the fruition of his body and blood?—So, then, with all fulness of persuasion, let us partake AS IF of the body and blood of Christ. For in the *type* of the bread the body is given thee, and in the *type* of the wine the blood is given thee, that thou mayest become, by taking the body and blood of Christ, one in body and blood with him. Thus we also become bearers of Christ, his body and blood being conveyed into our members; and thus, as the blessed Peter says, we become partakers of the divine nature. Formerly, Christ discoursing with the Jews, said,—'*Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life*'

in you.'—(John vi. 53). But they, not knowing that these things were spoken by him SPIRITUALLY, taking offence, retired from him, imagining that he was inviting them to an eating of his own flesh."—(Cyril. Cataches. Mystagog. iv. p. 293.)

So much for the real sentiments of St. Cyril of Jerusalem upon transubstantiation: let us next see how they are mutilated and travestied by Dr. Milner. In the 63d page of his third volume, the learned Doctor is pleased to write thus:—

"I must omit the clear and beautiful testimonies for the Catholic doctrine which St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. John, Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin, and a number of other illustrious Doctors of the fourth and fifth ages furnish; but I cannot pass over those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of St. Ambrose of Milan, because these occurring in catechetical discourses, or expositions of the Christian doctrine, to their young Neophytes, must, evidently, be understood in the most plain and literal sense they can bear."

He then, alluding to St. Cyril, goes on thus:—

"The former says—'Since Christ himself affirms thus of the bread: *This is my body*; who is so daring as to doubt it? And, since he affirms—*this is my blood*, who will deny that it is his blood? At Cana of Galilee, he, by an act of his will, turned water into wine, which resembles blood: and is he not, then, to be credited when he changes wine into blood? Therefore, full of certainty, let us receive the body and blood of Christ: for under the form of bread is given to thee his body, and under the form of wine, his blood.'

This is all of the passage in St. Cyril that is given by Dr. Milner, who has not condescended to transcribe any part of the original Greek, even into his Notes. By a comparison of the Doctor's version with our translation of the real sentiments of Cyril, it will be immediately seen, that he not only left out the most important part of the entire passage, namely, that portion towards the end, where the father informs his Neophytes that Christ spoke not in a LITERAL but in a SPIRITUAL (Πνευματικῶς) or metaphorical sense; but also, that he has actually slurred over, or left out, the most important word, even in that part of the passage which he himself has given to his readers. The word to which we allude is the Greek word, *ἐν* in the following sentence—*ἐν τῇ ποτὶς πληροφάνῃ, ὡς σωματικῆς καὶ διαιτικῆς μεταλαμβάνοντες Χριστοῦ*. In our translation, we have preserved this word, it being, in fact, the key-stone of the whole passage, which clearly demonstrates that St. Cyril did not consider the bread and wine to be really, that is substantially, the body and blood of Christ, although Dr. Milner, by leaving out the effect of this word in his version of the passage, tells his correspondents and his readers, that the misrepresented father



was an advocate for his own absurd doctrine of transubstantiation.\*

It will not be of any avail for him to say, that he did not consult the original works of St. Cyril himself, but that he contented himself with quoting the passage, at second hand, from some other writer, by whom it was mutilated and corrupted. He will not, we presume, pretend to say he has not read the *Rev. Mr. Grier's answer to Ward's work on the supposed Errata of the Protestant Bible*, because we find that he mentions this gentleman and his performance in more than one part of his Letters on *The End of Religious Controversy*. Now, the whole passage from Cyril of Jerusalem, as translated above, with those portions of the original Greek which we have given in the Note, were published in Mr. Grier's *answer to Ward*; and, therefore, must have been read by Dr. Milner, along with that gentleman's remarks upon them. Whether the Doctor will have recourse, in order to exculpate himself, to the excuse of a treacherous memory, we know not; but of this we are certain, that, if he does, considering the importance of the point in dispute, and the forcible manner in which it was commented upon by Mr. Grier, he will find but few, if indeed any, possessed of sufficient credulity to believe him. After this exposure, we scarcely think that he will be again found writing in the following strain, as we find him doing in one of the notes of his Introductory Address to the Bishop of St. David's.—“To one only objection of his adversaries the writer here wishes to give an answer, *that of having quoted falsely*; which, however, has been advanced by very few of them, and is confined, as far as he knows, to two instances.”†

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\* The original Greek of St. Cyril's conclusion of the passage is as follows:—

“Οὕτω γὰρ Χριστοφόροι γινόμεθα, τὸ σωματικὸν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ αἷματός ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀναβιζομένοις μέλει· οὕτω, κατὰ τοὺς μακαρίους Πέτρον, θύεις κοινῶν φύσεως γινόμεθα. Πότε Χριστὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος εἶπεν—ἴαν μὴ φαῖνται μοι τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πῆτε μοι τὸ αἷμα, ἃ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,—οὕτως μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκηνδαλιθῶντες ἀπῆλθον ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα, νομίζοντες, ὅτι σαρκοφάγοι αὐτὸν προτρέπεται.” In using the word *spiritually*, St. Cyril evidently follows the words of Christ himself, who says in the discourse alluded to by the father, in John vi. 63,—“It is the *spirit* that quickeneth, the *flesh* profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are *spirit* and they are life.”

† Mr. Grier has convicted him, over and over, of garbling, suppression, misrepresentation, and misquotation: thus, with respect to the late Bishop of Landaff's charge to his clergy in 1795 (p. 54—56, &c.); with respect to the opinions of Gunning, the Bishop of Ely, at pp. 129, 30; with respect to *Jeremy Taylor*, at pp. 130, 1, 2, 3, &c. and at pp. 143, 5; with respect to *Thorndyke*, at pp. 173, 4; with respect to Bishop *Casin*, at pp. 138, 7. *Ignatius* is garbled, as may be seen, pp. 155, 6; Archbishop *Bromhall*, at pp. 176, 7; *Hooker*, at pp. 177, 1; *Chillingworth*, at pp. 247, 8, 9, &c.; Dr. *Tomline*, at p. 260; *Dr. Water*, at pp. 237, 8, 9; and the Bishop of Exeter, at p. 220.

In concluding our review of this learned *Theologue*, we give the sentiments of Mr. Grier as corresponding with our own.

"If *truth* be the *end* of controversy, Dr. Milner could not have selected a title less expressive of such an object; nor of the means used to attain it, than that which he has prefixed to his last publication. The work, to which I allude, assumes the specious name of '*The End of Religious Controversy*,' but were it his desire to establish the very opposite of what he professes to do, he could not have pursued a course better calculated to effect his purpose than that which he has taken on the present occasion. In vain may the reader expect, on opening the pages of this veteran polemic, to meet with what should always characterise controversial writing—courteousness, good temper, candour towards an adversary, and moderation in defence of the writer's own opinions. In vain may he look for impartial decisions on the merits of conflicting opinions; for candid inquiry; for fair argument; or for fair representation. Such hopes would be illusory in the extreme; since, in almost every page, he will find passages perverted from their original meaning, misquotations, garbled extracts from the fathers, lying legends, the false miracles and arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome, and the jargon and sophistry of the schoolmen; together with a revival of all the calumny, falsehood, and abuse, which Gregory Martin in the sixteenth, and Thomas Ward in the seventeenth centuries, have heaped on the Church of England, its clergy, and its ordinances. When, in addition to this, it is considered, that he commences and concludes his book with an attack on our prelacy, far exceeding in virulence that of Chaloner, Walmsley, Hawarden, Plowden, Drumgoolc, or Gandolphy; and that the intermediate parts correspond with the extremes, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing upon the *end* which he had in view, and in saying, that he could not have adopted a less appropriate title for his precious Digest than that which he has given it." (*Prefatory Remarks*, p. 2—4.)

#### ART. XVIII.—POEMS BY BERNARD BARTON.

1. *Napoleon, and other Poems.* By Bernard Barton. 8vo. London, 1822.
2. *Verses on the Death of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* By Bernard Barton. London, 1822.

FOR Mr. Bernard Barton, we entertain a real esteem. He has faults, but we hardly know how to censure his faults, they lean so much to the side of virtue. They are, however, of a nature to do more injury to the cause of virtue, than some others which involve far greater obliquity of principle. We are angry with

him for not being more angry with what, to his good dispositions, we know must be odious. We could wish him to be a more cordial hater, if it were only for the sake of his poetry. But let us not be misunderstood; we would not have him hate his kind, or desire harm to any human being; but a stern and strenuous hatred of vice, and a fearless reprobation of it, more especially when it seeks to multiply its converts, and enshrine itself in popular prejudice, would not be unbecoming even in a member of the peaceful brotherhood to which Mr. Barton belongs. Poetry, whose natural element is strong and vivid representation, cannot be neutral on moral subjects, without a sacrifice of its specific character. And though it would be great injustice to the bard whose performances are before us, not to admit him to be a warm friend to virtue, he will, we know, forgive us, if we say that there is something of excess in his moderation towards the decidedly wicked, which has a tendency to perplex those authentic divisions by which right and wrong stand eternally distinguished.

Mr. Barton will not suppose that we are suspecting him of the want of clear principles in his own mind. His performances decidedly and uniformly indicate a correct judgment, and an exquisite moral sensibility: but he hesitates too much to call things by their right names. In refraining from thinking evil, he fulfils an obligation of scriptural charity; but in his mode of treating those who do evil too notoriously to leave the intention equivocal, he mixes more courtesy than substantial charity requires or allows. Much, however, is to be conceded to Mr. Barton's habits and associations, and to the character of the society to which he belongs. Of that society he seems to us to be a distinguished ornament: he has dispelled the twilight which has dimmed its intellectual world, and has dressed up its drab-looking scenery in the colours of a rich imagination; he has dissipated the monotony, without disturbing the calm of the Quaker's peaceful province. The very placidity of character that belongs to this fraternity he has elevated into a theme of poetical beauty, by a process, as some may think, not exceeded in ingenuity by the curious art of raising sunbeams from cucumbers.

As far as regards our own impressions, Mr. Barton has rightly anticipated in his preface an ill sound and effect, in the title of his principal poem. We like not, most certainly, the name Napoleon. The name was never agreeable to us, having been always associated in our minds with ideas of military usurpation, and the government of the sword. We must likewise confess, that having formed our notions of heroism chiefly from the models of our own history, and those perhaps of the flourishing

days of the Roman Commonwealth, the subject of Mr. Barton's poem has been always very distasteful to our feelings. Our prejudices against the man have been increased against his memory by all the efforts which have been made to canonize him since his death. There is a polar distance between the sentiments of our own minds and those of his panegyrists; and the very colour and tone of every eulogy that has been bestowed upon him, have served only to increase the antipathies with which his name has always been coupled in our antiquated ideas. The misfortune of the British Review is this, that it is growing more and more British every day; every day maintaining more of the fashions of our *grandmother*, even to the cut of King William's and Lord Somers's days, and every day more and more annoyed by the introduction of foreign habits and opinions into our country, that seem to us, such are our silly prejudices, to smell of snuff, and dirt, and pollution. It is this extreme nationality that possibly prevents our doing justice to the Imperial Exile whom Mr. Barton has taken for the theme of his song; and disposes us to think his muse much too neutral and forbearing in treating of the actions of a man, against whom our own prepossessions are so strong, and whom our author professes to try by the standard of Christian rectitude. It is not railing that we are regretting the want of, but rather that decided tone, to refrain from which, on matters connected with the sanctity and supremacy of moral truth, is a misprision that can hardly excuse itself on any grounds of Christian charity.

After thus explaining ourselves, we are happy to give Mr. Barton the praise which seems to us to be his due. His mind appears to be in the happiest tune; perfectly in unison with all the harmonies of the Christian dispensation. There is not a passage in any of his productions which is not directly or indirectly favourable to the felicity and moral advancement of mankind. His poetry, if not always of the first order, abounds in specimens which entitle the author to the rank and estimation of a man of genius. His taste, indeed, is somewhat deteriorated by a certain pravity of imitation which makes him forget that the language of song is not the language of conversation, and keeps him among those flats and levels in which the streams that issue from the fountains of poesy settle into stagnant pools. Mr. Bernard Barton is, however, capable of superior things, and often stands on very elevated ground, from which his vigorous intellect stretches itself over a broad expanse of rich and various scenery. In descriptive talent he particularly excels. His heart and sentiments accompany his pencil, and

inanimate nature breathes under his touch. Whether Mr. Barton has begun his career as an author early or late in life we know not, for we have not the least knowledge of him but through his works; but we dare prophesy that if he shall live in health a few years longer we shall have many productions of his pen that will do honour to his country and to the present age. Religion appears to have obtained a happy ascendant in his mind, and to hold his genius in most honourable servitude. His poetry is the handmaid of his piety, and is never so rich in thought and so full of soul as when it borrows its inspiration and reflects its lustre. Modern days have furnished no happier instance of this alliance of poetry with sound religion. Mr. Barton, without awakening the passions, has found the means of touching the affections; the tear which he produces is as chaste as the dew of heaven; the sympathy which he stirs is such as angels may feel; the joy which he imparts is such as the father may share with his daughter—the son with his mother. We have no fear of his ever deserting this path, or seeking any other road to fame. In the illustration of the meek and modest graces of character he has a field before him full of sweet and fragrant luxuriance, where many a wild and beautiful floweret grows with which he may weave for himself an unfading chaplet. It is, in some degree, a new department, and it offers itself to the genius of this amiable Quaker as his own by right of occupancy and natural claim.

The author's preface is in the main well written. We were rather surprised, indeed, that he should think it necessary to apologize for being the advocate of peace. His views and wishes in this respect are perfectly congenial with our own. A society for bringing about an universal peace through the world, beginning with our own country, we have, in a former part of this journal, treated as very ridiculous, being calculated, as far as it could operate at all, to encourage mutiny and invite subjugation; but in the endeavour to promote a taste for peace by extending the genuine influence of Christian principles, all good men must sympathise with this amiable writer. This love of peace appears to be his principal ground of objection to Buonaparte. He impeaches him only as a man of war, standing upon the same level with other heroes of sanguinary renown, to whose ambition the world's happiness and human rights have been sacrificed. Now this is not the view we take of that person. He had, indeed, all the vices, and committed all the crimes, which are usually implied in the career of the man who conquers and usurps a throne; but his character in its more common features, so little accords with

our conceptions even of the spurious greatness of the conqueror, that we cannot even compliment him with the credit that belongs to "that bad eminence."

As the poem, which the author has named "*Napoleon*," was designed to be a metrical argument in behalf of peace, we think he has not improperly chosen a species of verse which, by its loose and floating texture, gives room for the fuller expression and extension of each thought, and allows it to be followed out with a sort of colloquial freedom, which, if it is not carried to an excess of familiarity, is pleasing and affecting. Mr. Barton's thoughts and images are of so tranquil a sort, and such, apparently, is his complexional kindness of feeling, that the plainness and simplicity of speech in which he indulges often exhibits his ideas with a suitableness that aids their impression; but it must not be dissembled that he sometimes goes beyond his charter, and rambles into a prosing chit-chat, into which the Muse disdains to follow him. We will now produce a specimen of his descriptive and sentimental powers. We take it from his "*Napoleon*." He first paints the condition and aspect of a peaceful village untouched by the sword, and then exhibits the lacerated scene after it has been visited by the spoliation of war. If there is anything overwrought on the softer side of the description, it is impossible not to love the man who has found in his own bosom an ideal picture of humanity so exquisitely pure and tender.

Come, take thy stand upon this gentle ridge,  
Which overlooks yon sweet secluded vale;  
Before us is a rude and rustic bridge,  
A simple plank; and by its side a rail  
On either hand, to guide the footsteps frail  
Of first or second childhood; while below  
The murmur'ing brooklet tells its babbling tale,  
Like a sweet under-song, which, in its flow,  
It chanteth to the flowers that on its margin grow.

For many a flow'ret blossoms there to bless  
The gentle loveliness whose charms imbue  
Its border;—strawberry of the wilderness;  
The star-like daisy; violet brightly blue;  
Pale primrose, in whose cup the pearly dew  
Glistens till noontide's languid, listless hour;  
And last of all, and sweetest to the view,  
The lily of the vale, whose virgin flower  
Trembles at every breeze within its leafy bower.  
Now, glance thine eye along the streamlet's banks  
Up through yon quiet valley; thou wilt trace

Above the giant mountains in their ranks,  
 Of bold and varied outline; little space  
 Below their summits, far above their base,  
 Umbrageous woods; and, last of all, thine eye  
 Will rest on many an humble dwelling-place  
 Of happy human beings; and descry  
 The lowly temple where they worship the Most High.  
 How quietly it stands within the bound  
 Of its low wall of grey, and mossy stone!  
 And like a shepherd's peaceful flock around  
 It's guardian gather'd—graves, or tombstones strown,  
 Make *their* last narrow resting-places known,  
 Who, living, lov'd it as a holy spot;  
 And dying, made their deep attachment shown  
 By wishing here to sleep when life was not,  
 That so their turf, or stone, might keep them unforgot!  
 It is a bright and balmy afternoon,  
 Approaching unto even-tide; and all  
 Is still except that streamlet's placid tune,  
 Or hum of bees, or lone wood pigeon's call,  
 Buried amid embow'ring forest tall,  
 Which feathers, half way up, each hill's steep side:  
 Dost thou not feel such landscape's soothing thrall;  
 And wish, if not within its bowers t' abide.  
 At least to explore its haunts, and know what joys they hide?  
 Nor need'st thou wish a truer luxury  
 Than in its depths, delighted thou might'st share;  
 I will not say that nought of agony,  
 Blest as it is, at times may harbour there,  
 For man is born to suffer, and to bear:—  
 But could I go with thee from cot to cot,  
 And show thee how this valley's inmates fare,  
 Thou might'st confess, to live in such a spot,  
 And die there in old age, were no unlovely lot.  
 But thus, summes not to loiter so;  
 Then let us take, as sample of the rest,  
 That lowly hut, where blooming wall-flowers grow  
 Above the ivy time has made its vest,  
 Like glist'ning foam-wreath on a green wave's crest:  
 On one side of its porch, poor, old, and weak,  
 A patriarch sits, in homely raiment drest;  
 A woman opposite, whose faded cheek,  
 Though younger far than his, some lines of sorrow streak.  
 Yet in her form, once beautiful, is seen  
 Still fair proportion, natural elegance;  
 And though most matronly is now her mien,  
 And weakly chaster'd is the downward glance  
 Of her dark eye, who looks on it, perchance,

May well conjecture, from its beauty, how,  
 Ere grief had dimm'd by painful circumstance  
 Its lustre, from beneath its arching brow  
 It sparkled at love's tale, fill'd at affection's vow.  
 And though that cheek is not, as youth's may be,  
 In blooming beauty drest, 'tis lovely yet;  
 And whoso looks upon it, soon may see  
 That disappointed hope, and keen regret,  
 Have marr'd, but not effaced, the charms that met  
 In softest union on those features mild:  
 Still may be traced the stamp which nature set  
 Upon them, when sweet Agnes, then a child,  
 Here warbled, like a bird, her carols free and wild.  
 She lov'd, and married one, who long had been  
 First playmate, then companion;—only son,  
 And child, of that old man before her seen;  
 And for a time existence smoothly run  
 In a calm current; children many a one  
 Were theirs, and if not wealth, at least content;  
 Childless, and widow'd, is she now; for none  
 Of those rich blessings bounteous Heaven had lent,  
 Are left to call her own,—one after one they went.  
 But though it cost poor Agnes many tears  
 To see first one and then another die  
 Of those sweet children, loveliest of their peers,  
 At least they seem'd so in a mother's eye;  
 And though it was still deeper agony  
 When the pale messenger the last time came  
 To call her husband hence; no impious sigh  
 Impreach'd Omnipotence: she felt His claim  
 "Who gives, and takes away; and bless'd his holy name!"

(P. 32—37)

The description of the playmates who figure in this lovely picture of sequestered innocence, and soft but melancholy serenity, is an effort as original as it is excellent. It is thus that these little personages are invested with an importance which fills and animates the whole enchanting scene of rural elegance which the poet has placed before us.

Behold, two lovely children now have stray'd  
 From some near cottage to that bowery tree;  
 And Agnes sees them coming, half afraid  
 To trust herself a sight like this to see:  
 A girl, the eldest, who perhaps may be  
 Ten summers old, assumes her sagest look,  
 Sits down, and opens wide upon her knee  
 Her youngling brother's well-conn'd spelling book,  
 Who turns from thence his eye to yonder bubbling brook.



For sweetest flow'rets are up-springing there,  
 Which he would rather pluck than learn to spell;  
 But when he hears his teacher's lips declare  
 That he shall have those flowers he loves so well,  
 As guerdon of his labour—to compel  
 His fixed attention, there requires no more;  
 The task is learnt, repeated; then pell-mell  
 They scamper forth amid that shining store;  
 His pupilage is past, her gravity is o'er.

Among those flowers the happy playmates quaff  
 Delight as innocent as flowers are fair;  
 And Agnes hears the frequent shout, the laugh,  
 Break on the stillness of the balmy air.  
 But now a tenderer scene ensues;—look where  
 The sister quietly resumes her seat  
 Under that tree of blameless knowledge there,  
 And hears him, kneeling by her side, repeat  
 His evening prayer to God, in lisping accent sweet!

That done, his rosy cheek the guileless boy  
 Rests on her knee, upturns his eyes to hers,  
 And glances of affection, truest joy,  
 Between their hearts are still interpreters.  
 The sun, meantime, behind those sable firs,  
 Is softly sinking; but his lingering streak  
 Is on those lovely children:—zephyr stirs  
 The glistening locks which hide *his* cherub cheek,  
 And many a kiss *she* prints, a sister's love to speak!

This is no sight for Agnes to behold  
 Unmov'd;—nor can she, viewing it, forget  
 How her own darling us'd to be of old  
 Just such, and so employ'd. But though regret  
 May thrill her heart, its better hopes are set  
 Upon its inward comforter and stay;  
 She rises up, and going forth, has met  
 Those young companions on their homeward way;  
 They know her kindness well, and childhood's greetings pay.  
 She kisses each with tenderness, and smiles  
 As meekness only can, when tears suppress  
 Are felt—though viewless:—they, with gentle wiles  
 Of playful innocence, by her carest,  
 Whom next to their own parents they love best,  
 Beguile her from herself;—till when they part  
 Even she is sooth'd, nor thinks her lot unblest,  
 Since still she can, though tears at seasons start,  
 Partake in others' joys with no ungrateful heart!  
 Why do I linger o'er this portraiture  
 Of idle fancy?—wherefore—but to show

How much there is of beauty to allure  
 In peaceful quietude ; did man but know,  
 And knowing, seek, what is most truly so,  
 O much there is to be most thankful for,  
 E'en in this world, despite of all its woe,  
 Would we but love each other, and abhor  
 Each harsh and cruel thought that leads to strife and war.

(P. 38—41.)

The scene is now shifted, and the happy valley shows itself to view after the work of blood has been done in it. The poet thus exhibits the change from gentleness and joy to the desolation produced on the same ground by the havoc of war:—

But to that happy valley turn once more,  
 When war's destroying angel there has been :—  
 Had Winter's devastations, or the roar  
 Of elements, alone, deform'd the scene ;  
 Still, in its ruins, it had worn the mien  
 Such natural scourges mostly leave behind ;  
 Some of its features yet had smil'd serene,  
 Ev'n in the absence of all human-kind,  
 And with our darkest fears a hope might be combin'd.

Now its once rustic bridge is lopp'd away  
 By some rude pioneer's regardless stroke ;  
 Each peaceful homestead, blest but yesterday,  
 A shapeless mass of ruins, black with smoke :  
 The graceful birch, tall pine, and sturdy oak,  
 Which bosom'd the sweet hamlet, too, are hewn ;  
 And hideous, maim'd, half putrid corpses choke  
 The murmuring brook, which, on that afternoon,  
 Had music in its flow of most delightful tune.

Nor have they spared the solitary tree,  
 Beneath whose boughs that child her brother taught ;—  
 Agnes, the patient Agnes ! where is she ?  
 And her old helpless father ? He who caught,  
 From her meek smiles and accents, feelings fraught  
 With more than joy. Those lovely children too,  
 Where are they all ? We dare not trust our thought  
 To tell their tale, nor follow fancy's clue ;  
 Lest e'en the very worst should fearfully prove true.

Perhaps—but why conjecture ? can we guess  
 Horrors more foul than War itself supplies ?  
 The blood of age staining its silver tress ;  
 Childhood, or fright, or famine's sacrifice ;  
 The ruin'd maidens unavailing cries :—  
 All these might be their lamentable lot,  
 Whose home was late so lovely in our eyes :  
 We know but this—they were ! and here are not !  
 And feel we stand indeed on an ACCURSED SPOT !

O War ! thou art indeed the deadliest curse  
 Which Heaven can suffer, or the world endure ;  
 However pride thy glories may rehearse,  
 Or hopes of fame thy votaries may allure.  
 Volcano, earthquake, pestence impure,  
 Are evils ; but they poison not the spring  
 Of thought and feeling : lenient time may cure  
 Their devastations ; but to thine there cling  
 Resentment, rooted hate, and each unholy thing. (P. 12—44.)

We will now quote a passage from Mr. Barton's poem on the Sun, which appears to us to possess extraordinary merit. As the sun of the wicked is setting, it is our earnest hope that that of this Christian poet may continue to rise towards its virtuous meridian.

Can it be wond'rous then, before the name  
 Of the ETERNAL GOD was known as now,  
 That orisons were pour'd, and votaries came  
 To offer at thine altars, and to bow  
 Before an object beautiful as thou ?  
 No, it was natural, in those darker days,  
 For such to wreath around thy phantom brow  
 A fitting chaplet of thine arrowy rays,  
 Shaping thee forth a form to accept their prayer or praise.  
 Even I, majestic Orb ! who worship not  
 The splendour of thy presence, who control  
 My present feelings, as thy future lot  
 Is painted to the vision of my soul,  
 When final darkness, like an awful scroll,  
 Shall quench thy fires ;—even I, if I could kneel  
 To aught but Him who fram'd this wondrous whole,  
 Could worship thee ; so deeply do I feel  
 Emotions, words alone are powerless to reveal.  
 For thou art glorious ! when from thy pavilion  
 Thou lookest forth at morning ; flinging wide  
 Its curtain clouds of purple and vermillion,  
 Dispensing light and life on every side ;  
 Brightening the mountain cataract, dimly spied  
 Through glittering mist, opening each dew-gemm'd flower,  
 Or touching, in some hamlet, far descried,  
 Its spiral wreaths of smoke that upward tower,  
 While birds their matins sing from many a leafy bower.  
 And more magnificent art thou, bright Sun !  
 Uprising from the ocean's billowy bed :  
 'Ho, that has seen thee thus, as I have done,  
 Can e'er forget the effulgent splendours spread  
 On thy emerging radiance ? Upwards sped,  
 E'en to the centre of the vaulted sky,  
 Thy beams pervade the heavens, and o'er them shed

Hues indescribable—of gorgeous dye,  
Making among the clouds mute, glorious pageantry.

Then, then how beautiful, across the deep

The lustre of thy orient path of light !

Onward, still onward, o'er the waves that leap

So lovelily, and show their crests of white,

The eye, unsated, in its own despite,

Still up that vista gazes ; till thy way

Over the waters seems a pathway bright

For holiest thoughts to travel, there to pay

Man's homage unto HIM who bade thee "RULE THE DAY."

And thou thyself, forgetting what thou art,

Appear'st thy Maker's temple, in whose dome

The silent worship of the expanding heart

May rise, and seek its own eternal home :

The intervening billows' snowy foam,

Rising successively, seem steps of light,

Such as on Bethel's plain the angels clomb ;

When, to the slumb'ring patriarch's ravish'd sight,

Heaven's glories were reveal'd in visions of the night.

Nor are thy evening splendours, mighty Orb !

Less beautiful : and oh ! more touching far,

And of more power, thought, feeling to absorb

In silent ecstasy, to me they are :

When watchful of thy exit, one pale star

Shines on the brow of summer's loveliest eve ;

And breezes, softer than the soft guitar,

Whose plaintive notes Castilian maids deceive,

Among the foliage sigh, and take of thee their leave.

O then it is delightful to behold

Thy calm departure ; soothing to survey

Through opening clouds, by thee all edged with gold,

The milder pomp of thy declining sway :

How beautiful, on church tower old and grey,

Is shed thy parting smile ; how brightly glow

Thy last beams on some tall tree's loftiest spray,

While silvery mists half veil the trunk below,

And hide the rippling stream that scarce is heard to flow !

This may be mere *description* ; and there are

Who of such poesy but lightly deem ;

And think it nobler in a bard, by far,

To seek in narrative a livelier theme :

These think, perchance, the poet does but dream,

Who paints the scenes most lovely in his eyes,

And, knowing not the joys with which they teem,

The charm their quiet loveliness supplies,

Insipid judge his taste, his simple strain despise.

I quarrel not with such. If battle fields,  
 Where crowns are lost and won; or potent spell  
 Which portraiture of stormier passion yields;  
 If such alone can bid their bosoms swell  
 With those emotions words can feebly tell,  
 Enough there are who sing such themes as these,  
 Whose loftier powers I seek not to excel;  
 I neither wish to fire the heart, nor freeze;  
 But seek their praise alone, whom gentler thoughts can please.  
 But if the quiet study of the heart,  
 And love sincere of nature's softer grace,  
 Have not deceiv'd me, these have power to impart  
 Feelings and thoughts well worthy of a place  
 In every bosom: he who learns to trace,  
 Through all he sees, that hand which form'd the whole,  
 While contemplating fair Creation's face  
 Feels its calm beauty ruder thoughts control,  
 And touch the mystic chords which vibrate through the soul.  
 Majestic Orb! when, at the tranquil close  
 Of a long day in irksome durance spent,  
 I've wander'd forth, and seen thy disk repose  
 Upon the vast horizon, while it lent  
 Its glory to the kindling firmament,  
 While clouds on clouds, in rich confusion roll'd,  
 Encompass'd thee as with a gorgeous tent,  
 Whose most magnificent curtains would unfold,  
 And form a vista bright, through which I might behold  
 Celestial visions—Then the wondrous story  
 Of BUNYAN'S PILGRIMS seem'd a tale most true;  
 How he beheld their entrance into glory,  
 And saw them pass the pearly portal through;  
 Catching, meanwhile, a beatific view  
 Of that bright city, shining like the sun,  
 Whose glittering streets appear'd of golden hue,  
 Where spirits of the just, their conflicts done,  
 Walk'd in white robes, with palms, and crowned every one.  
 Past is that vision:—Views of heavenly things  
 Rest not in glories palpable to sense;  
 To something dearer Hope exulting springs,  
 With joy chastis'd by humble diffidence;  
 Not robes nor palms, give rapture so intense  
 As thought of meeting, never more to part,  
 Those we have loved on earth; the influence  
 Of whose affection o'er the subject heart,  
 Was by mild virtue gain'd, and sway'd with gentle art.

(P. 69—76.)

This is the day in which vigorous verse on virtue's side

should not go without its recompense. How much does the cause of the father of lies and mischief gain by the prejudice which foolishly annexes an idea of vigour to vice, and always supposes something of valour in the desperation of the profligate. We mistake if the contrary is not at this moment exemplifying itself to the view of mankind. Mr. Barton is not only the poet of virtue, but a poetical admirer of those that, like himself, espouse her cause. His verses to Mrs. Hemans are worthy of himself and of her. It is thus that he twines a wreath for her brow :—

Had earth, and earth's delights alone  
Unto thy various strains given birth ;  
Then had I o'er thy temples thrown,  
The fading flowers of earth :  
And trusting that e'en these, portray'd  
By thee in song, would spotless be,  
The jasmine's, lily's, harebell's braid  
Should brightly bloom for thee.

But thou to more exalted themes  
Hast nobly urg'd the Muse's claim ;  
And other light before thee beams  
Than fancy's meteor flame ;  
And from thy harp's entrancing strings  
Sounds have proceeded, more sublime,  
Than e'er were waken'd by the things  
Which appertain to TIME !

Yes, lady ! Thou hast truly set,  
Even to the *masters of the lyre*,  
An eloquent example !—yet  
How few have caught thy fire !  
How few of their most lofty lays  
Have to religion's cause been given,  
And taught the kindling soul to raise  
Its hopes, its thoughts to heaven !

Yet this at least has been thy aim ;  
For thou hast chosen that better part,  
Above the lure of worldly fame,  
To touch, and teach the heart :  
To touch it by no slight appeal  
To feelings in each heart confest ;  
To teach, by truths that bear the seal  
God hath himself imprest.

And can those flowers, that bloom to fade,  
For thee a fitting wreath appear ?  
No ! Wear thou then the ivy-braid,  
Whose leaves are never sere !  
It is not gloomy ; brightly play  
The sun-beams on its glossy green ;

And softly on it sleeps the ray  
Of moonlight, all serene.

It changes not, as seasons flow  
In changeful, silent course along;  
Spring finds it verdant, leaves it so;  
It outlives Summer's song;  
Autumn no wan, or russet stain  
Upon its fadeless glory flings;  
And Winter o'er it sweeps in vain;  
With tempest on his wings.

Take the following specimen of the memory of a fair Quaker  
revived by her portrait, or better traced upon the tender fancy  
of her affectionate friend :

But, O ! too warmly glows my heart,  
While thus in thought beholding thee,  
For me to act the artist's part,  
Embodying each sweet phantasy :  
Beauty there is, that painting mars ;  
Morn's mists, noon's glory, night's bright stars,  
And moonlight on the mighty sea ;  
And yet all these but things express  
Of unending loveliness.

But Thou, when unto me 'tis given  
Thy semblance to behold,  
Now seem'st more like a form from heaven,  
Than one of mortal mould ;  
Which he who would thy portrait draw,  
Turns from, o'ercome by love and awe,  
And leaves its charnis untold.  
No ! all I can do, love ! must be  
To sketch what memory yields of thee.

And ill may such a sketch convey  
To those who knew thee well,  
What once thou wert ; still less portray  
Those charms, whose gentle spell  
Survives thyself, still unforget ;  
Or give to those, who knew thee not,  
Aught which of thee should tell.  
Thy dress, thy form, thy face—alone  
If given—might leave thee still unknown.

Thy form ! avails it now to trace ?  
Though once with charms endow'd :  
Thy dress ne'er boasted Fashion's grace,  
To satisfy the proud :  
Yet thou becam'st it well : and it  
On thee so gracefully did sit,  
My taste its charms avow'd ;

And in that simple garb—to me  
Thou wert—all thou could'st wish to be.

Thy face, thy features,—boots it now

To speak of what is fled,—

Of eyes, or hair, or lips, or brow ?

When once the flower is dead,

Its shape, its hue, no bliss can give ;

Its odours only seem to live,

And lingering sweetness shed.

If memory still that face enthral,

'Tis by the soul which spoke through all.

Did it not speak ? Oh ! yes, it did—

Not through the lips alone ;

That eye, beneath its downcast lid,

Was eloquent in tone ;

For purest passion's gentle force,

And thoughts which sprang from virtue's source,

In all its glances shone :

Orbs of more brilliant light I've seen,

But none more tenderly serene.

(P. 246—248.)

The verses on the death of Percy Bysshe Shelley we have read with little interest. The poem is not one of Mr. Barton's best in point of composition and thought ; and it appears to us to be too timid and tame for the occasion. A sort of compromising vein runs through the poem which betrays the author into some inconsistency. Addressing the manes of the deceased, he thus expresses himself :

'Tis not for me to judge how far

Thy unbelief such hopes must mar.

And, in a stanza or two afterwards, he makes the following appeal to others proceeding in the track of him who has been surprised by the last sad summons in the midst of his unbelief :

If Christians err, yourselves admit

Such error harms them not ;—

If you are wrong, and Holy Writ,

No juggling, priestly plot,

But Truth's own Oracle reveal'd ;—

Then is your condemnation seal'd,

And hopeless is your lot !

You DOUBT the Gospel :—keep in view,

What CAN BE DOUBTED—MAY BE TRUE !

If, according to Mr. Barton, the condemnation of them who reject Christianity as a fable “ is sealed,” and their “ lot hopeless,” he has already judged “ how far ” the “ unbelief ” of the person in question such hopes must mar. To borrow the words



of our author, there is a spell by nature thrown around the voiceless dead, to which we readily yield ourselves on the present occasion; and shall rest content with observing, that if it be true that the deceased was to have shared in the reputation of a miscellany now in a course of publication under the auspices of Lord Byron, his melancholy fate has, in relation to that undertaking, spared him the mortification of an egregious failure, and saved the credit of his taste and talents.

A few words upon that work, which has thus come incidentally under our notice, may be indulged to the *British Review*, though they may not be quite in place. We can undertake to say, upon the surest grounds of knowledge, that not a word of the letter written by the noble lord above mentioned to the editor of this journal has ever been read by him; so little has been his curiosity concerning it, and so ineffectual the vengeance intended to be executed upon him. If the universal opinion of the publication styled "*The Liberal*," be taken as decisive of its value, it can be scarcely necessary for the editor of the *Review* in question, in his vindication, to refer to the articles upon *Don Juan*, and upon the book of plays, comprising *Cain*, a *Mystery*, in the former volumes of this journal, which appear to have provoked so much hostility under the form of pleasantry. The vengeance may be left to its own recoil.

It would afford us no pleasure to contemplate the decline of Lord Byron's genius, or to think that Italian enervation had accelerated his natural decay, which we find to be the opinion of a large number of judicious persons; but we cannot be sorry to see that he makes such a display of weakness in a work which appears to be the most antisocial of all his efforts. Probably by this time he may wish his last work to be forgotten, having learned how short it has come of the meditated mischief, and how general an opinion it has created of his declining powers: but that cannot be; it must remain as a testimony against him: the arm which he has put forth against heaven and all-prevailing truth, has dried up, and stiffened in its sacrilegious direction:—it cannot be drawn back again. We allude here to the profane nonsense sent forth as a parody upon Mr. Southey's poem.

However doubtful a man may consider a future existence, he is surely a bad calculator to stake his soul upon the issue, and to sport upon the margin of so frightful a possibility. In the present case this risk is run almost gratuitously; as we can scarcely conceive that the "*Liberal*" can put much into the editor's

pocket. Little is got by it in this world, while all may be lost by it in the next. From the extracts which we have seen in the newspapers taken from the parody above-mentioned, it does not even appear to be diabolically good; the scoffer himself will hardly find his gratification in it: blasphemy that boasts an alliance with wit may be ashamed of being associated with so much dulness. We are disposed to think that desperate scoffing is not Lord Byron's fort, and that he wishes to be worse than his genius will allow him to be. He is certainly much outdone in blasphemy by many ordinary workmen of the same craft who live by it in this country. Whatever may be the explanation of the failure, it is clear that if he aspires to be the poet laureat of his infernal majesty, he is going the way to be rejected, for downright incompetency. For such a post his wit should be equal to his will. All this points to an upward course, and worthier undertakings; but if Lord Byron will not follow this higher vocation, we foresee that he will gradually fall into low scribbling habits, and the practice of contemptible abuse,—grow old and despised,—and, finally, drop into his grave a drivelling blasphemer.

We beg to assure Lord Byron, that his treatment of the "British Review" is not considered by us as any indication of his holding its criticisms in contempt. We happen to have before us a very polite letter from his Lordship to our former publisher, expressive of his sense of the value of the paper in that journal on the first part of his "Childe Harold;" and we are pretty confident that the series of criticisms upon his Lordship's productions which have succeeded that article, down to the last on the "Don Juan," have not sunk us in his real respect. His attempt to fix ridicule upon what has excited his spleen, is so far its own punishment as to leave us in perfect good humour for the candid examination of any future production of his pen (the "Liberal" only excepted, which is many fathoms below criticism). If he ushers any more blasphemies into the world, we shall not trouble ourselves with them. His struggle is with Omnipotence: we shall content ourselves with looking on, and expecting the issue. In the mean time, if the least soreness is perceivable in this expostulation, we grant that so far Lord Byron has obtained an advantage over us. We can conscientiously say we feel none. Again, if the character of the editor has lost an inch of ground by this attempt to depress him, we are ready to admit that a personal triumph has been obtained over him. But if it is universally considered, as we understand it to be, that the attack upon him is in a spirit unworthy of a

man of genius, vulgar in its character, and vapid in its execution, he has to thank the author of "Don Juan," for the only effect of his hostility,—the proof it has afforded to the public of the power of the "British Review" to provoke and to deserve his vengeance.

ART. XIX.—*Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland: with Details of the Military Services of the Highland Regiments.* By Colonel David Stewart. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1822.

THE Highlanders of Scotland are distinguished from the inhabitants of the lowland districts by peculiarities of character, and of manners, as strongly marked as those which nature has impressed on their rugged and romantic country. It is with the Lowlanders, not only as our nearest neighbours, but as composing the great bulk of the people of Scotland, that our intercourse is chiefly maintained, and in them it is that we have so long observed those peculiarities which make it easy to recognise the genuine Scot. Something of the Highlanders we have also known, for they too, though in very inferior numbers, have occasionally appeared among us. But, excepting their dress, their language, and the wildness of their country, little has hitherto been generally known to distinguish their state and condition from the great mass of the inhabitants of Scotland. The work which is now before us is filled with curious and important information respecting the character and history of this interesting people, given by a gentleman who seems singularly well qualified for the task. He has here opened a fund of valuable intelligence—of historical and characteristic details—of facts and anecdotes which, if they had not been thus authenticated and preserved, would have passed away with the present generation, and have left the errors and the ignorance which have so long prevailed as to the character of the true Highlanders uncorrected and undispeled. The striking anecdotes with which it abounds, and the military exploits of the Highland regiments which it records, are calculated to render it very popular and interesting; but its value seems to us to be great for reasons more important than the mere amusement which it affords.

There is one very remarkable fact which goes to prove something more than a mere distinction of character between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders of Scotland. We have never yet met with a Lowland Scotchman who was not willing to pass for a Highlander; but we do not recollect to have found any Highlander who was not anxious to distinguish himself from his countrymen of the Lowlands. That this feeling is general, is, we think, very plainly shown from the number of those clubs or associations in various parts of the world which have assumed the name of Highland Societies, though they are composed, for the most part, of the Lowlanders of Scotland. This notorious fact, and the anxiety of the Lowland Scotch to assume the character of Highlanders, may, in some degree, be ascribed to mere idleness, to the whim of appearing in a strange and gaudy dress, and in some degree to the love of jollity and good cheer amidst some mummery and masquerade. It is ridiculous to suppose (as we believe many worthy Highland gentlemen suppose) that it proves any absolute superiority of the character of the Highlanders over their countrymen. But we will readily admit that from this fact, so far as it goes, it may be concluded that the Lowlanders do not conceive that the character which they thus willingly assume is at all inferior to their own. The penal statutes which prohibited the dress are now repealed—no man can now be cast into prison, or transported for the crime of wearing a plaid or a kilt; and tartan is no longer a badge of degradation.

But it is very strange that this predilection for the Highland character among the Scots, was unknown till within the last forty or fifty years. Before that time, a poor Highlander who made his appearance in any of the towns of the Lowlands was persecuted and pelted as an odious barbarian. How then has it happened that so great a change has taken place? Is it that the character of the Highlanders has, in more recent times, been reformed from a state of previous ferocity and barbarism? or that, without any change in their character, it is now more perfectly understood? These questions are, we think, easily resolved by the facts which are disclosed in the work before us, and resolved in a manner equally creditable to the reputation of both divisions of the inhabitants of Scotland.

The favourable opinion of the Highlanders now entertained throughout the kingdom has, we believe, been produced entirely by their high military character—by the conspicuous share which they have had in all the victories of our armies throughout the war. Few acts of policy on the part of government have been more judicious, or more beneficial in

the result than that of organizing the Highland regiments, and preserving to them their national dress. The principle on which this was done was the very reverse of that which actuated the legislature in the harsh measures which were adopted towards this people after the rebellion of 1745. But it is the peculiar merit of the Highlanders that, under evil report and good report—under persecutions and penal statutes, as well as under more humane and judicious government, their conduct has uniformly been distinguished by the utmost moderation. It is for this their conduct in their own country, under the various trials to which they have been exposed, that they deserve the greatest praise, although it is not for this that they have hitherto obtained it. And it is because their behaviour in their own country; because the state of society there has been much less understood than their military virtues, and because, when understood, it will be found, at least, as worthy of admiration, that we feel a greater interest in the first part of Colonel Stewart's work, which treats of their character and their manners, than in that which details with so much animation the military services of the Highland regiments.

No doubt, there are many circumstances connected with the manners and the history of the Highlanders—with their situation and their habits, which qualify them in a peculiar degree for a military life. But it is not from any peculiar fierceness of disposition, nor from mere bodily strength, that they are thus qualified. It is because they are active and hardy; regardless of weather; patient of hunger and of fatigue; and, above all, because they are strict and faithful in the performance of their duties, and actuated in all their conduct by stern and lofty sentiments of honour and of duty, such as are not generally found among the lower ranks of any other people in the world. It is thus that their character is described by those who have the best opportunities of becoming thoroughly acquainted with it; it is thus that it ought to be described from the testimony of unquestionable historical facts. And, if all this be true, it is plain that a great part of their military reputation is to be ascribed rather to moral than physical qualifications.

The ancient history of the Highlanders, though, like the early history of most other nations, it is very defective, informs us of some facts which are very important with reference to the character of this people. It is true, beyond all doubt, that the ancient capital of the Kings of Scotland was situated in the very heart of the Highlands, and that it was not till the eleventh century (in 1066) that it was removed to the Lowlands by King Malcolm Ceanmore. It is, perhaps, not so clear that those almost

imperceptible ruins which the eyes of some sharp-sighted antiquaries have detected on the north-western coast of Argyleshire are the identical remains of the ancient Berigonium. But the castle of Dunstaffnage, of which the walls are still standing, and which is situated at no great distance from the ruins we have mentioned, was most certainly the royal palace; and it was from Dunstaffnage to Scone, in the Lowlands of Perthshire, that Malcom Ceanmore removed his court.

It is no wonder that this removal was the cause of a great change in the Highlands. A great part of the population, and almost the whole commerce of the country, followed the court, and from that time forward the Highlanders attracted little of the attention of the government. Considering the present state of the Highlands, it may seem strange to any one unacquainted with the ancient history of that country—we mean with such part of that history as is authentic—to hear any thing said of its commerce. But those who are thus unacquainted with it, will wonder still more when they hear that, in those ancient times, the greatest commercial town in Scotland was situated in the wildest part of the Highlands—in Lochaber—at the foot of Bennevis—and is mentioned by Hollingshed under the very name of Inverlochy, which is still given to the ruins of that mighty castle now standing near the site of the ancient town. Till Malcom Ceanmore had emigrated with his Court to the Lowlands, it was in the town and port of Inverlochy that the commerce of Scotland was principally carried on, not merely with the French and Spaniards, with whom a very extensive trade had long subsisted, but with the other parts of the world that had any intercourse with North Britain. The decay of this commerce was the natural consequence of the desertion of the Highlands by the royal court and the great body of the population.

The state of learning and of the arts, considered with reference to the condition of other countries, was at least, in these remote ages, if not further advanced, certainly in as forward a state among the Highlanders as in any other part of Great Britain. Some of the monuments of their learning have escaped the fury of the barbarous reformers of later ages; and those works of the monks and abbots of Iona which have been preserved in foreign countries, where their value was more perfectly understood, are sufficient evidence, not merely of the piety and good feelings of their authors, but of the very considerable extent of their learning. But although the monastery of Iona, for several ages, after the seat of royalty had been transferred to the Lowlands, continued to produce men of distin-

guished learning, it had gradually declined for a long time before its total destruction at the Reformation.

From the time of King Malcom III., or, as he is commonly called, Malcom Ceanmore, the Highlands were utterly neglected by the government, and in a great degree forsaken by the people. In the following passage, Colonel Stewart describes some vestiges of the more ancient times :—

“ In many parts of the Highlands, however, ruins and foundations of places of strength and of castles, are so frequent as to exhibit proofs of a population more numerous than in later ages. The marks and traces of the plough also evidently demonstrate that cultivation was more extended than at present. Fields, on the mountains, now bleak and desolate, and covered only with heath and fern, exhibit as distinct ridges of the plough as are to be seen on the plains of Moray. Woods and cultivation gave a genial warmth to the climate, which planting and other improvements would probably restore. As an instance of these marks of the ancient population, I shall confine my observations to one district. In a small peninsula of four miles in breadth, situated between the rivers Tummell and Garry, in Athole, extending from Strowan to the port of Loch Tummell, about ten miles in length, and ending at the point of Invergarry, below the pass of Killickrankie, there are so many foundations of ancient habitations (and these of apparent note), as to indicate a remarkably numerous population. They are fifteen in number. One circular building, near the house of Fincastle, is sixty-two feet in diameter; the walls are seven and a half feet thick, and a height of five feet is still remaining.”

After mentioning other instances of the same kind, our author goes on to state that tradition assigns these buildings to the age of Ossian. “ In ancient poetry,” he says, “ it is stated that the Fingallians had twelve castles in Glenlyon, but there are only ruins of seven visible at this day.” By the Fingallians are meant the more ancient Highlanders, whom we are sorry to hear designated by this fanciful name, which is associated rather with the bombastic paraphrases of Macpherson than with any thing that truly belongs to the Highlands. Colonel Stewart is much wiser when he clings to the only plain inference which can be drawn from the existence of these ruins, and says, that “ the traces of a numerous population in former times are clear and incontrovertible.”

The consequences of the removal of the seat of royalty to the south he thus describes :—

“ The extension of their dominions occasioned the frequent absence of the kings from the ancient seats of their governments. At length, when, about the year 1066, the court was removed by Malcom Ceanmore, never to return to the mountains, the sepulchres, as well as

the residence of the future kings of Scotland, were henceforth to be in the south; and Dunfermline became the royal cemetery instead of Icolm-Kill, where so many kings, chiefs, and bishops, eminent ecclesiastics, and men of learning lie entombed. That university, which had for ages been the fountain whence religion and learning were diffused among the people, was now deserted. The removal of the seat of authority was speedily followed by the usual results. The Highlanders were impoverished. Nor was this the only evil that resulted from the transference of the seat of government. The people, now beyond the reach of the laws, became turbulent and fierce; revenging in person those wrongs for which the administrators of the laws were too distant and too feeble to afford redress. Thence arose the institution of chiefs, who naturally became the judges and arbiters in the quarrels of their clansmen and followers, and who were surrounded by men devoted to the defence of their rights, their property, and their power: and accordingly the chiefs established within their own territories a jurisdiction almost wholly independent of their liege lord."

There are very few occasions on which we can doubt the accuracy of our author's opinions, and none on which we can dispute the extent of his information. But we are not quite satisfied that all the notions which he expresses in this passage are correct. The truth is, that there is a great want of authentic records to supply information on the subject. On what authority, for instance, is it stated, that the institution of chiefs was the consequence of transferring the royal residence to the Lowlands? or that the Highlanders from that time became turbulent and ferocious? It may be a very plausible inference that a people from among whom the authority for enforcing the law was entirely withdrawn, should thereupon become disorderly or even ferocious:—but mere probability, in the absence of positive evidence, is not enough to lead us to this conclusion. True it is, that many acts of violence were committed in the Highlands after the royal residence was transferred to the south; but is it true, that at any time subsequent to the year 1066, the general character of the Highlanders was more ferocious than that of the Lowland Scots, among whom the kings resided, and the courts were held? If there be any thing in the history of Scotland which proves this, it has escaped our research; and has not even been referred to by those, whose opinions would have been supported by any such testimony. But at present, all authority goes to show, that there was as much blood spilt in private feuds, and that as many deeds of lawless violence were committed in countries to the south of the Forth, as among the Highlands. Nor do we think it by any means certain that our author is right, when he asserts that the institution of chiefs was a consequence of the removal of the seat of royalty. The notion



that the king went forth from the Highlands, accompanied by the nobility, and followed by the great body of the people; and that among the residuary population of the Highlands chiefs arose, and clans were formed, as the substitutes for the more regular government which had been exercised while their kings lived among them, seems plausible enough, till we consider that those families of which the chiefs were the head, could not have been insignificant when their kings were among them.

The truth is, that the history of the Highlanders, from the time of Malcolm Ceanmore till the seventeenth or eighteenth century, is so exceedingly defective, and so little is known of the system of clanship or of the manners of the people during the intermediate period, that it is now impossible to ascertain whether any sudden and complete change took place in the state of society among the Highlanders after the removal of the court to Scone. And in the absence of all certain information, when it is considered that acts of violence and mis-rule prevailed as much in the Lowlands after the kings removed thither, as before, there is no reason to conclude that such acts became more frequent in the Highlands in consequence of that removal. If the spirit of the Highlanders was more turbulent than that of the Lowlanders, the presence of the royal authority, which could not restrain the latter, must have been very inadequate to maintain order in the Highlands; and therefore could not, by its removal, produce any great change in the character of the people. On the other hand, if the natural disposition of the Highlanders was less turbulent than that of the southern Scots, it was still less likely that the removal of the royal residence should cause such a revolution in their manners, as should convert them at once into a nation of fierce barbarians, where each man was the avenger of his own wrongs, till chiefs arose among them, who decided the quarrels of their clansmen, and directed their united strength against some neighbouring tribe. The probability is that the institution of chiefs and clans was not the consequence of the removal of the kings, but existed even while the seat of royalty was within the bounds of the Highlands; and that, as well before as after that event, acts of violence were as often committed in the Lowlands as in the Highlands, and the power of the crown as little able to restrain them in the one country as in the other.

It was the rebellion of 1715, and 1745, which first attracted the attention of the British Government to the peculiar state of society in the Highlands. The system of clanship, and the hereditary power of the chieftains, was found then subsisting

in the same state in which, for aught that appears to the contrary (unless the conjecture of Colonel Stewart be right), it had existed from the earliest period to which the history of this people can be traced. And it is a remarkable peculiarity of the Highlanders, that all writers of authority concur in the accounts which they give of their character and disposition, and of the state of society in which they lived up to the time when the legislature made them the object of those penal statutes which produced so great a change in their condition. The descriptions of the earliest of these writers accord entirely with those of the latest. The system of clanship, with all its defects, continued for centuries unchanged; and, during its continuance, preserved the same character to the people,—the same succession to property in the same families,—the same attachment and devotion of the clansmen to their chiefs and to each other, which had distinguished the Highlanders from the earliest period of their history. Eighteen Highland chiefs fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn; and it appears from the list of them which is preserved by Colonel Stewart, that, with very few exceptions, the direct descendants of these chiefs are all in possession of their paternal estates to this day.

“When we consider” (says our author) “the state of turbulence and mis-rule which prevailed in the Highlands, this unbroken succession for five hundred years of so great a proportion of the chief agitators and leaders is the more remarkable, as there has been a greater change of property within the last forty years of tranquillity, abundance, and wealth, than in the preceding two hundred years of feuds, rapine, and comparative poverty.”

This fact leads us to one of the peculiar characteristics of this people. The unbroken succession of families was occasioned by the strength of those feelings of attachment, and of that principle of steadfastness and fidelity which prevailed among them,—a principle which it was the essential object of clanship to maintain, and which accorded so much with their natural dispositions, as to be evinced by many singular and affecting customs. Some of them are mentioned by our author.

“The attachment and friendship of kindred families, and clans, were confirmed by many ties. It has been the uniform practice in the families of the Campbells of Melford, Duntroon, and Dunstaffnage, that when the head of either family died, the chief mourners should be the two other lairds, one of whom supported the head to the grave, while the other walked before the corpse. In this manner friendship took the place of the nearest consanguinity; for even the oldest sons of the deceased were not permitted to interfere with this arrangement. The first progenitors of these families were three sons of the family of

Argyle, who took this method of preserving the friendship, and securing the support of their posterity to one another.

"In a manner something similar, the family of Breadalbane had their bonds of union and friendship, simple in themselves, but sufficient to secure the support of those whom they were intended to unite. The motto of the armorial bearings of the family is "Follow me." This significant call was assumed by Sir Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenorchy, who was a Knight Templar of Rhodes, and is still known in the Highlands by the designation of Caillain du nu Roidh, 'Black Colin of Rhodes.' Several cadets of the family assumed mottos analogous to that of this chivalrous knight; and when the chief called 'Follow me,' he found a ready compliance from Campbell of Glenfalloch, a son of Glenorchy, who says, 'Thus far,' that is, to his heart's blood, the crest being a dagger piercing a heart; from Achline, who says, 'With heart and hand;' from Achallader, who says, 'With courage;' and from Barcaldine, who says, '*Paratus sum*.' Glenlyon, more cautious, says, '*Quæ recta sequor*.' A neighbouring knight and baron, Menzies of Menzies, and Flemyng of Moness, in token of friendship, say, 'Will God, I shall,' and 'The deed will show.' An ancestor of mine, also a neighbour, says, 'Beware.'"

Many remarkable instances are given of the strength of attachment which animated the individuals of every clan from the highest to the lowest. The same disposition was always manifested towards the person of their chief, and sometimes in a very striking manner. At the battle of Inverkeithing, which was fought between the royalists and Cromwell, five hundred of the clan Maclean were left dead on the field. During the battle seven brothers of the clan sacrificed their lives in defence of their chief, Sir Hector Maclean, who was hard pressed by the enemy. These brothers successively supported him, and covered him from the weapons of his assailants; and as each of them was killed, another of them rushed into his place to cover the chief, calling out "Another for Hector!" This exclamation, repeated in so remarkable a situation by these brothers, has never been forgotten in the Highlands. It is associated with this act of heroism, and is still common as applied to the occurrence of any great emergency which requires instant succour. Another instance of the same kind occurred at the battle of Rirory (or Killicrankie, as it is more commonly called), during which Lechiel was attended by his foster-brother, who, as our author expresses it, followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword; and cover him from the shot of the enemy. During the battle, the chief suddenly lost sight of his friend, and, on turning to look for him, saw him lying on the ground expiring from the wound of an arrow which had pierced his breast. He was just able to tell

Lochiel that he had seen one of the enemy, a Highlander in Mackay's army, aiming an arrow at his chief from the rear; that he immediately sprung behind, and saved him by receiving the mortal wound in his own body.

No doubt the history of every country affords individual instances of heroism, and of the devoted attachment of friends, which may vie with those which are recorded in the simple annals of the Highlanders. There is hardly, indeed, upon earth, any nation, however degraded and debased, from the history of which, even in their worst times, such instances might not, perhaps, be produced. Even where bad habits and bad institutions produce the most unfavourable effects upon the morals of a people, some rare examples of virtue may be found, which, though insufficient to rescue the national character from its degradation, may yet be sufficient to save the honour of human nature. But with the Highlanders these qualities are a prominent part of the national character; they appear at every stage of their history, and are manifested by all ranks, from the chief to the meanest clansman. The traditional records of every important event, the incidents which are told of the life of each individual, have an invariable reference to these virtues, and perpetuate them among the people.

A story which is authenticated by records which exist at this day, and which was certainly not unknown to "the author of *Waverley*," is mentioned by our author as having occurred in his own family, sometime previous to the year 1477. It throws too much light on the habits and character of this people during turbulent times for us to omit it. Though there was no Fergus Macivor, who led forth his clan to support the disastrous cause of the House of Stuart in 1745, yet it is true that in the fifteenth century a chief and clan of that name possessed the lands of Glenquaich, and a great part of Glenlyon, in the county of Perth. A quarrel arose about that time between Stewart of Garth and Macivor, the cause of which shows how strong an attachment subsisted among chiefs and clansmen.

"The laird of Garth had been nursed by a woman of the clan Macdiarmid, which was then, and is still, pretty numerous in Glenlyon and Breadalbane. This woman had two sons, one of whom, foster-brother to the laird, having been much injured by Macivor in a dispute, threatened to apply for redress to his foster-brother; and the two brothers immediately set out for that purpose to the Castle of Garth, twelve or fourteen miles distant. In those days a foster-brother was regarded as one of the family; and Macivor, well aware that the quarrel of the Macdiarmids would be espoused by his neighbour, ordered a pursuit. The young men being hard pressed, threw themselves into a deep pool of the river Lyon, where they hoped that their

pursuers would not venture to follow them. The foster-brother was, however, desperately wounded with an arrow, and drowned in the pool, which still retains the name of Linne Donnel, or Donald's Pool. The other succeeded in reaching Garth. Resolved to avenge his friend's death, the laird collected his followers, and marched to Glenlyon. Macivor mustered his men, and met the invaders about the middle of the glen. The chieftains stepped forward between the two bands in the hope of settling the affair amicably. Garth wore a plaid, the one side of which was red, and the other a dark-coloured tartan; and on proceeding to the conference, he told his men, that, if the result was amicable, the darker side of the plaid should remain outward as it was; if otherwise, he would give the signal of attack by turning out the red side. They were still engaged in the conference, when Macivor whistled loud, and a number of armed men started up from the adjoining rocks and bushes, where they had been concealed, while the main body were drawn up in front. 'Who are these,' said Stewart; 'and for what purpose are they there?' 'They are only a herd of my roes that are frisking about the rocks,' replied Macivor. 'In that case,' said the other, 'it is time for me to call my hounds.' Then, turning his plaid, he rejoined his men, who were watching his motions, and instantly advanced. Both parties rushed forward to the combat; the Macivors gave way, and were pursued eight miles further up the glen. Here they turned to make a last effort, but were again driven back with great loss. The survivors fled across the mountains to another part of the country, and were for some time not permitted to return. Macivor's land was, in the mean time, seized by the victors, and law confirmed what the sword had won."

The charters under the great seal of King James III., by which Macivor's lands were granted to Stuart of Garth, are still preserved, and are recorded in the public Register-office in Edinburgh. The names of the field of battle,—of a large fragment of rock, near which Stuart's men pulled off their sandals or *cuarans*,—of the cairns or heaps of stones which still mark the graves of those who were killed, attest the truth of this tradition. A few years ago, on the spot which has always been called the Field of Battle, there were dug-up a sword and a battle-axe much corroded by rust.

This gift of lands from the crown, to which it had no legal title, conferred on one who had no other right to them than that of having wrested them from a fellow-subject, strange as it may seem, is not an instance of the most reprehensible part of the policy of the Government towards the Highlanders.—The quarrel between Stewart and Macivor originated in the warmth of attachment which subsisted between Stewart and his foster-brother, and not in any project of conquest for the extension of his estate. Macivor was the aggressor, and pro-

voked the quarrel. But there are no traces of the interference of the crown, till the Macivors were almost utterly extirpated. The story as it stands is remarkable as an instance of that unity of feeling and strength of attachment which bound together the chief and his clansmen.

But the part which the crown took in the disputes between the chiefs was, for the most part, of a much more mischievous nature. Instead of exerting its authority to restrain those feuds, it never interfered but for the purpose of inciting them to mortal extremities; and frequently issued commissions authorising a chief to make a raid into the country of some neighbouring tribe with which he was at war, and to lay it waste with fire and sword. The object of this barbarous policy was, sometimes, to punish some act construed into a contempt of the royal authority; at other times, it was a mode of distress for the non-payment of taxes or services claimed by the crown. When commissions of this kind were not granted directly by the crown, they proceeded from some of the few great nobles who claimed the feudal superiority over the lands occupied by the clans. Such was the authority granted by the Earl of Argyle to Lochiel and Appin, directing an incursion into the territory of the Macleans in Morven and Mull. So late as the year 1685, the Marquis of Athol granted a commission to the Laird of Ballechen to make an incursion into the country of Argyle, and to take and keep possession of the lands of the Campbells. This order was issued by Athol to revenge himself and his followers for a foray which had previously been made by the Campbells into his country, during which there was much robbing and bloodshed. The revenge which was thus intended against the Campbells seems to have been amply inflicted; for Ballechen, with his Stewarts, penetrated to Inverary, the residence of Argyle, and there hanged eighteen gentlemen of the name of Campbell. The commission, under sanction of which this atrocity was perpetrated, is still preserved in the charter chest of the family of Ballechen. "It prescribes," says our author, "all the intended operations, and grants the estates to be conquered, with an air of authority resembling the solemnity of a royal mandate."

The unfavourable impression which the mention of such deeds as these tend to excite, as to the character of the Highlanders, is partly removed by the reference which is made by our author to the state of the Lowlands of Scotland at the very same periods; but more effectually by the peculiar situation of the Highlanders, and by the means which were taken to incite their feuds to acts of the most outrageous violence.

When Lindsay, of Pitscottie, describes his Lowland countrymen as being in such a situation that "much herships (cattle-lifting) and slaughter was in the land and boroughs, great cruelty of nobles among themselves, for slaughters, theft, and murder were their patent; that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and fame that was the greatest brigand thief or murderer." It is impossible to believe that the Highlanders were more turbulent than the other people of Scotland. In point of morality, the proceedings of the chiefs and clans against each other in their feuds, stood on the same footing with the transactions of independent nations in a state of warfare. The conduct of clansmen to each other, and their domestic habits, are entirely free from that reproach which attaches to the great body of the Lowlanders. It is only in the conduct of their hostilities, and during the continuance of warfare, that we can perceive much to blame in the conduct of the Highlanders; and, in these cases, violence and bloodshed, between distinct tribes, committed, if not always, certainly in most instances under the sanction of the crown or the feudal superior (whose authority in such cases was recognised by the law), is a reproach to the supreme authority in the state, rather than to the character of the people.

It fills us with regret when we consider the conduct of our government towards the Highlanders, on many occasions. The vengeance of Ballechen and his clansmen against another tribe with whom they were living in open warfare, was executed under the lawful authority of the feudal superior. It was the wild justice inflicted by an exasperated clan, but yet inflicted under a recognized warrant. The slaughter of the Macdonalds of Glenco was sanctioned by our own government, by the ministers of King William III. acting under the sign-manual of that monarch himself. The worst outrages committed after the most grievous persecutions, by the clans against each other, seem mere trifles when compared with that most treacherous and bloody work, for which nothing in the shape of provocation can be assigned. No treatment could have been more calculated to goad a fierce people to the most desperate acts of rebellion—to a systematic defiance and resistance of the government: and it is a proud testimony to the character of the Highlanders, that, although many opportunities of retaliation have offered themselves, they have ever disdained to use them.

In the circumstances which led to this dreadful massacre of the Macdonalds, there is unfortunately nothing to palliate the conduct of King William and his ministers. Some of them, particularly the secretary Stair, had a settled ill-will towards this ill-fated clan, which was inflamed by the misrepresentations

of some bitter enemies among their neighbours. The greatest offence which the Macdonalds of Glenco had committed in the eyes of King William, was that of having fought under the Lord Dundee in 1689, at the battle of Rmrory. But this was an offence of which many other clans were equally guilty, and for which, if it had not been for the clamours which the massacre of Glenco and his people had excited, there is good reason to think that they might in turn have all suffered from that vengeance of which the Macdonalds were the victims. The circumstances attending this massacre are too interesting to escape our attention.

After the battle of Rmrory, it was not till 1691 that Lord Breadalbane, on behalf of the government, proposed a cessation of hostilities, which was acceded to by the several Highland chiefs, and among the rest by Macdonald of Glenco. In August 1691, a proclamation was published, offering indemnity to all those engaged in the rebellion, who should come in and take the oath of allegiance to King William before the 1st of January following. Towards the end of December, Glenco went to the governor of Fort William, which was the nearest garrison, tendered his submission, and offered to take the oath prescribed by the proclamation; but the governor informed him that he had no authority to administer the oath, and therefore advised him to proceed without delay to Inverary, where he would find an officer who had proper authority. Inverary, however, was far distant—it was the depth of a most inclement winter—the roads were blocked up with snow, and as it appeared doubtful whether Glenco could reach Inverary within the time prescribed by the proclamation, the governor of Fort William gave him a letter, which certified that he had gone through mistake to Fort William, where there was no one authorised to administer the oath. Glenco hastened to Inverary, but his journey was retarded by the weather, and he was there several days before Sir Colin Campbell, of Ardkinlas, the officer appointed to administer the oath, could arrive. It was now the 6th of January, and Ardkinlas hesitated to administer the oath; but Glenco besought him with tears, and promised to bring in all his people. Ardkinlas at length administered the oath, and sent to the privy council in Edinburgh a certificate of the fact, and of the reasons of the delay, together with the letter of certificate of the governor of Fort William. But the clerk of the council, by the advice of one of its members, refused to lay the certificate and letter concerning Glenco before the privy council; and even endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to erase them from the paper on which they were



written, which contained also certificates relating to other persons.

Secretary Stair and King William now decided the fate of Glenco and his people, and resolved they should be utterly extirpated. Some of the letters written by Stair to military officers, and others, on this subject, are still preserved, and there runs through them all a strain of cold, deliberate, relentless cruelty, at which humanity shudders. He seems to have resolved, that on some of the Highland clans the vengeance of the government should fall with a terrible force; and he exults when he sees that the storms of winter would assist the dreadful work which he contemplated. It is scarcely conceivable that any human being in the rank and station of this man could write the following passage, which is literally extracted from one of his letters: "The *winter* is the only season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle, to the mountains. It is the only time that they cannot escape you, for human constitutions cannot endure to be 'long out of houses. This is the proper season to maul them, in the cold long nights." The description of those letters given in the Report of the Commissioners of the Scots Parliament, who were appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre, is in the following words:—"The said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the express terms of the said letters: and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder." Though these commissioners are thus explicit on the transaction, they endeavour, but in vain, to excuse the king from the guilt of having authorized this massacre. Whatever the means were by which King William was wrought upon to authorise wholesale murder, the very words of the warrant which, under the sign-manual, as set forth in the Report, laid the guilt of that bloody deed irremoveably upon the warrant was as follows:

"William R.

"As for Mackian of Glenco, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves."

After this, it is not, perhaps, easy to say that any one was more forward than the king and his secretary in instigating this dreadful work. But from various passages in the report which we have quoted, it would appear that the Lord Breadalbane, who had an ancient feud with the Macdonalds of Glenco, was one of the most active and efficient, though, perhaps, the most secret, of their enemies; and that even Argyle was disposed to assist in the utter extermination of this clan. Stair says, in one of his letters, that "the Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds) shall have no retreat in their bounds." And so conscious was Breadalbane of his guilt, and so great his terror, when he found the matter had been taken up by the Scots Parliament, that (as appears from the evidence and the Report of the commissioners) he sent a person "to the deceased Glenco's sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their hands, that the Earl of Breadalbane was free and clear of the said slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's kindness for procuring their remission and restitution."

Campbell of Glenlyon, the captain who commanded the troops employed to effect the massacre, was a near relation and adherent of the Earl of Breadalbane. This officer, with a party of about one hundred and twenty men, of the regiment of Argyle, arrived in Glenco on the first of February, 1762, with orders to execute the work of extirpation. Glenco, suspecting that these troops came with some unfriendly intention, came out to meet them on their first appearance, attended by his followers, who were armed and prepared to resist any attack. But Campbell assured him that they came with no hostile design, but only to be quartered there for a time, upon which, it is stated in the Report from which we have already quoted, "they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people, until the 13th day of February." "On the 13th day of February," being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where, having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead with several shots as he was rising out of his bed, and the mother having got up and put on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth." The rest of the clan, with a few exceptions, shared the fate of their chief, and were put to death in cold blood, with the same cruelty. The details of the massacre, as given in this Report, are frightful. It is stated, that at the hamlet where Glenlyon was quartered, "the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind

them hand and foot, and killed them one by one with shot." At the same place a woman, and a boy of four or five years of age, were killed: at another place a man of eighty years of age; and at another "there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand."

Of the few who escaped and fled to the hills, several perished during those "cold long nights," as expected by the Secretary. In consequence of the Report of the Commissioners, an address was presented by the Parliament to the King, praying that the guilty persons might be prosecuted. When we consider who were the persons implicated, we cannot wonder that no such prosecution was ever instituted.

It is surely no wonder if the Highlanders, who, from their notions of right and justice, were disposed to regard King William as unlawfully occupying the throne, were, by such an act as this, strengthened in their aversion to the revolution establishment. But it would be going too far to say that the massacre of Glenco was the occasion of the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, since the same spirit of disaffection to the family by which the House of Stuart was dispossessed of the throne, had been manifested before the massacre itself, and had stimulated the government to that dreadful infliction. The subsequent rebellions, however, prove that such measures do not tend to eradicate disaffection.

Morally speaking, and without regard to political considerations, the conduct of the great body of the Highlanders who were engaged in these rebellions, reflects no discredit upon the general character of the people; and we shall mention a fact which occurred in the year 1745 (and which we are glad to see has not escaped the attention of Colonel Stuart), that shows the Highlanders to have been animated with feelings too noble to inflict any retaliation upon the authors of the Glenco massacre, even when the most favourable opportunity occurred. We give the story as it is told by our author:

"One instance of the force of principle, founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence, was exhibited in the year 1745, when the rebel army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland, in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon the orders of King William for the massacre of Glenco. Macdonald of Glenco, the immediate descendant of the unfortunate gentleman, who, with all his family (except a child carried away by his nurse in the dark), fell a sacrifice to this horrid massacre, had joined the rebels with all his followers, and was then in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house and property of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all excitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending their true character, proposed that the Glenco men

should be marched to a distance from Lord Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had had in the order for extirpating the whole clan, should now excite a spirit of revenge. When the proposal was communicated to the Glenco men, they declared that if that was the case they must return home. If they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause; and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion, that they were prevented from marching away the next morning."

It seems to us an extraordinary fact in the history of the Highlanders, that no such consequences to the tranquillity of the country as might naturally have been looked for, resulted, on any occasion, from the many acts of government by which they were exasperated. The Highland clans, indeed, marched out to battle at various times against the government of the country, and often against each other. But these were all occasions on which war was regularly levied and conducted upon system. There was nothing of popular commotion in any of these cases. In truth, their habits and opinions, and manner of life, were wholly inconsistent with those impulses and agitations which in other countries have incited the people to take up arms against the established authorities. They were, indeed, always ready to follow their chief, and were entirely devoted to his cause. But the wildness and irregularity which are supposed to be incident to that state of society which existed in the Highlands, belonged merely to their mode of living, and had but small influence upon their moral conduct. Forays and cattle-lifting, it may be supposed, are scarcely compatible with strict morality; and yet, in truth, they are acts which, though constantly committed by the Highlanders, leave no greater stain on their moral conduct than the invasion and plunder of an independent state by the army of another with which it may be at war. Such acts were never known to be committed by the members of any clan towards each other; and the uniform testimony of well-informed persons establishes the fact, that invasions of property involving the guilt of theft or robbery were no where more uncommon than among the Highlanders. The other characteristics of this people may have perished, or may be impaired. We trust that they are neither lost nor impaired; but we think we may safely say that at least they are still distinguished for the same honesty and moderation. It is chiefly to the degree in which these qualities predominate in the conduct of the Highlanders that we must attribute their patient submission (though a very high spirited people) to those acts of misgovernment of which they have been so often the victims.

The policy of the acts of parliament by which they were deprived of their arms after the rebellion in 1715, and under more severe penalties after the rebellion of 1745, is perhaps questionable. But there can be no question at all as to the folly and wanton tyranny of those restraints on their dress, which were imposed under heavy penalties at the latter period. Even the influence of that terror which prevailed at the time, is a very inadequate excuse for this most extraordinary measure. It is very truly said by Dr. Johnson that it "is to be considered rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and beneficent legislature." Yet even this measure, which was so much calculated to irritate and exasperate these proud clansmen, produced no such effect. It was borne like the rest, without provoking a single act of violence or outrage; and it indicates not the least estimable part of the Highland character, that the chief notice which they took of these most oppressive restrictions was in the way of ridiculing the resort to them. They were the occasion of many jokes and satirical songs, which are still very well remembered. These show sufficiently that the Highlanders very bitterly felt the oppressiveness and the disgrace which was put upon them by this interference with their dress; and it appears from our author, that they suffered grievous inconvenience from a dress to which they were not accustomed, and which seems unsuited to their habits and situation.

"The tight breeches were particularly obnoxious. Some who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others who were more wary or less submissive, sowed up the centre of the kilt, with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trowsers worn by Dutch skippers. At first these evasions of the act were visited with considerable severity, but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of M'Alpin, or Drummond Macgregor, from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle. This trial took place in 1757, and was the first instance of relaxation in enforcing the law of 1747."

These laws for disarming and proscribing the Highland dress were made still more grievous by the way in which they were enforced. Spies and informers were spread throughout the whole country, and the people were compelled to come in and take oaths which were framed with a most cruel regard to

the peculiar habits and opinions of the Highlanders. They were made to imprecate the vengeance of Heaven upon themselves in various peculiar shapes, which are specified in these oaths with most disgusting and barbarous minuteness. Directions were at the same time given that it should be administered to every individual, and that a register should be kept with a description of the name, age, character, &c. of every person by whom it was taken.

Our author mentions two instances which are to be considered as exceptions from the general forbearance above attributed to the Highlanders, though they are such in their circumstances, as leave no stain on the general character and conduct of the people. The instances which he mentions are those of Munro of Culcarn, and Campbell of Glenure, who were both assassinated in the Highlands after the rebellion in 1745.

The case of Munro was one so peculiar in its circumstances, that it can scarcely be considered as a murder in any sense of the word. Mackenzie, who commanded a party of the king's troops in 1746, during the pursuit of the chevalier, employed himself in laying waste with fire and sword the upper district of Lochaber, and amongst others burned the house and plundered the property of a man of the name of Cameron, who had served with the rebels at Culloden; and during this operation, Mackenzie, with his own hand, put to death a boy, the son of Cameron with circumstances of great cruelty. Very soon after this, the next day we believe, Cameron lay in wait on a pass through which he knew that Mackenzie and his party must take their way, determined to shoot Mackenzie. Munro of Culcarn happened to be with this party. A shower of rain was falling, and Munro put on Mackenzie's cloak. Cameron knew the cloak to be that which he had seen on Mackenzie, and having no doubt, when he saw the party come up, that it was worn by its proper owner, he fired and killed Munro. These are the facts of this case, as we have ascertained them on strict enquiry, though our statement differs in some respects from that given by our author, who says of Mr. Munro, that "marching with a party of his men along the side of Lock Arkaig, in Lochaber, he was shot by a Highlander whose house had been burned, his cattle plundered, and his family turned out in the snow." He adds, that Mr. Munro was not the victim intended, and then says, that his death occasioned the more observation and concern "as it was the only instance of revenge or murder in cold blood by the rebels during the progress of the insurrection." On Colonel Stewart's own showing he is somewhat too hard on his countrymen in this matter; for taking the story even as he tells it, omitting the most atrocious part of the provocation, it is a

harsh construction of the case to call this a murder in cold blood. Hostilities had not then ceased against the Highlanders; assuredly they had not yet ceased as against this poor Cameron. There could have been no cold blood on his side. What is quite conclusive as to the conduct of Cameron is this fact—that though he was known to be the man who shot Munro, and could at once have been apprehended, no proceeding against him was ever attempted.

Before we dismiss this case we may just mention, that in the authentic records of the transactions of that time, there appear some circumstances in the conduct of Munro, which (however unfortunate his fate), go some way towards disposing us scarcely to regard his death with those feelings which the fall of a brave and high-minded soldier, in such circumstances, cannot fail to excite. It appears that Munro himself, and the party of men under his immediate command, had been guilty of gross and brutal outrages in Lochaber just before his death.

The other instance mentioned by our author, was attended and followed by circumstances still more extraordinary. Mr. Campbell of Glenure, a gentleman of great respectability, was in the year 1752 acting as factor or steward of a part of the estates forfeited on account of the rebellion. The duty which this office imposed upon him was of such a kind as was likely to make him obnoxious to the old tenants on these estates, and very great dissatisfaction was excited among them by the mode in which many of them had been dispossessed of their farms by Mr. Campbell. It is indeed, we fear, almost impossible to deny that there were circumstances in his conduct which so far from conciliating the minds of the people with whom he had to deal, contributed greatly to inflame them. One day as he was riding through a wood on one of those estates which were under his management, accompanied by his nephew and a servant, he was murdered by a shot fired at him from behind a rock. The murderer never was discovered.

This was a case of murder where the crime was deliberately perpetrated. It was, indeed (what Colonel Stewart has with too little allowance called the case of Munro), an instance of revenge or murder in cold blood.

All endeavours to discover the murderer were quite ineffectual. The case was one in which it was certainly most desirable, if possible, to visit with the heaviest vengeance of the law the guilty person. This was to be desired for an example to the people of the consequences of a crime so atrocious, for the perpetration of which so many facilities were afforded by the nature of the country, and so many provocations created by the treatment of the inhabitants, but of which this

had been the only instance. It very unfortunately happened that an old feud had subsisted between the inhabitants of this part of the Highlands and the Campbells, which this murder of course tended to aggravate and perpetuate. The Campbells at this time, from the political situation of the country, had entirely the upper hand, and were at all times ten times more numerous and more powerful than their opponents. They were animated by so furious a spirit of revenge against the whole tribe of people among whom this murder was committed, that they caused a gentleman of the name of Stewart (a near relation of the proprietor of the forfeited estate on which the murder had been committed) to be seized and tried as an accessory to the murder. This gentleman was tried, condemned, executed, and hung in chains, as guilty of this murder. The proceedings on this trial were published; and the case is well known not only to all Scotch lawyers, but to every one acquainted with the history of that country. They will never be forgotten. The massacre of Glenco did not leave a blacker stain than the result of this trial has left upon the memory of those who were concerned in the nefarious proceedings by which the condemnation of this devoted victim was obtained.

The history of the trial was not quite new to us, for we had read the published account of it; but the terms in which it is mentioned by our author, struck us as much more gentle than those in which it is generally mentioned, or in which we should have a man of feeling to have himself expressed while the history of it was fresh on his mind. He says,—“The whole transaction caused a great sensation, and the justice of the verdict and execution was much canvassed. It is now believed that the result would have been different had the trial taken place at a later period. Whether or not Mr. Stuart deserved his fate, it were well that all executions made such an impression on the minds of the people as this did, and still continues to make to this day.” Can Colonel Stewart have read the account of this trial? The strain of feeling which runs through his work, makes us think better of him than to believe that he could, with a knowledge of what took place on that trial, dismiss, with this faint and doubtful condemnation, an act of murder performed with such dreadful ceremony and deliberation.

Before we leave this part of the subject, there is a fact respecting the conduct of the Highlanders amongst themselves, to which we deem it right to direct the attention of our readers. Our author, while he insists with justice that his countrymen have not deserved the imputation of ferocity, mentions one or two circumstances, without adverting to the effect which they



have in confirming the charges which he wishes to refute. We would wish to set him right as to his own argument in one of the most important of these facts, which he introduces for a very different purpose than that of leading the reader to the conclusion to which nevertheless it inevitably tends.

"It has been alledged that the ancient names and people must have been removed by violence, or extirpated to make room for the more recent clans. This opinion seems more founded on conjecture than in fact. Such changes often occur from natural causes. The name of Cunnison or Macconich was prevalent in Athol in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, yet not an individual of that name now remains. All died off without violence or expulsion. In the same period there were twenty-four small landed proprietors of the name of Macraby, but not a man of that name is now to be found; nor is there even a tradition of one of them having been expelled or destroyed by violence. All became extinct by natural causes. One of these Macrabys possessed Finlarig, afterwards one of the principal seats of the Glenorchy and Breadalbane family."

We confess that the most natural cause for the extinction of whole tribes, as mentioned in this passage, seemed to us to be some kind of violence and expulsion, though that cause is expressly excluded by our author. But when, in the very next passage, a statement occurred, which so entirely explained the extinction here supposed by our author, we were at a loss to account for his missing its application to that which we have just extracted. It is this:—

"It may be proper to mention that many families of the same descent had two names, one common to the whole clan, as Macdonald, Macleod, &c. the other to distinguish a branch, which last was called the *bun sloine*, or genealogical surname, taken from the christian name, or whatever designation marked the first man who branched off from the original family. In this manner Campbell of Strachur is always called Macarstair or Macarthur, Campbell of Asknish, Macivor, and a tribe of the Robertsons in Perthshire, descendants from Strowan, are also called Clanivor."

In another place Colonel Stewart tells us that the Robertsons were also called Clan Donachie or Macconochie, which means the son of Duncan. We are, therefore, quite persuaded that our author will agree with us, when we suggest that the Cunnisons or Macconich in Athol, once so numerous, though he says they are now extinct, are no other than Robertsons, and still to be found there under that name. The Macrabys, again, we have no doubt, are no other than the Macnabs, who, we understand, still flourish in the very district where they were found

when they rejoiced in the name of Macraby. So much for the supposed extinction of these tribes,—a point on which our author has not exhibited his customary penetration.

Among the most extraordinary characters that have figured in the Highlands within the last century, was Rob Roy Macgregor, of whose manner of life, and his exploits against the Duke of Montrose, some curious particulars are mentioned by our author. The duke entered into a partnership with Macgregor, in cattle dealing; and the construction which his grace chose to put on this partnership was, that he should participate in the gains, but any loss which might ensue should be exclusively sustained by Macgregor. He therefore took legal measures against Macgregor, and had his lands taken in execution for payment of the debt which he claimed against Macgregor, on account of loss in the cattle speculation. Thus stripped of his estate, through the injustice of the duke, Macgregor collected about twenty men of his followers, and with them continued, through the rest of his life, an open war against the duke, who he was determined should not enjoy, with impunity, an estate which he had acquired by means which he denounced as dishonourable and unjust. For thirty years did this man levy contributions on the duke and his tenants, without any act of violence to other parties, and (from the way in which he conducted his proceedings), without committing any injustice against the tenants. His practice was to give to every tenant a regular receipt for what he took from him, as so much accounted for to the duke. It was usual in those times for the tenants to pay either the whole or part of the rents in kind. Many of the Duke of Montrose's tenants paid their rents in meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary, called in Scotland a *Girnal*, near the Loch of Monteath. It was Macgregor's practice, when he wanted a supply of meal, to send notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants, desiring them to meet him on a day which he named, with their horses, to carry home his meal. With this requisition the tenants, who knew what the consequence of their non-compliance would be, never failed to comply. They met at the appointed time and place. He then ordered the horses to be loaded at this Girnal, gave the duke's storekeeper a regular receipt for the quantity which he took, and marched away, always entertaining the tenants very handsomely, and taking care never to take any meal which was not first lodged by them in the Girnal, and thus given in satisfaction of their rent.

But Macgregor did not confine himself to taking the duke's rents in kind. He sometimes also took care to supply himself

with the money payments ; and of this our author mentions a curious instance.

“ On one occasion, when Mr. Graham of Killearn, the factor (steward), had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent, except Alexander Stuart, ‘ the ballie,’ whom I have already mentioned. With this single attendant he descended to Chapellairoch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders, in a loud voice, to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left-hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he desired to hand down the bag, and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted, and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction ; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, ‘ to show his grace,’ said he, ‘ that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.’ After the whole was concluded he ordered supper, saying, that as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill ; and after they had drank heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk, and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him :—‘ If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this’,—pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.”

Another exploit, somewhat similar, is narrated by our author, but at too great length for us to present a full extract of it.

An officer, with forty soldiers, was dispatched from some of the garrisons in the low countries, with directions to apprehend Macgregor, on account of this war which he thus carried on against Montrose. The movements of this party were watched by Macgregor much sooner than they were aware of. They proceeded to Tayndrum in Breadalbane, in the immediate neighbourhood of which Macgregor's party happened at that time to be. He himself assumed the disguise of a beggar, and

went to the inn at Tayndrum, where the officer and his party were quartered. He walked into the kitchen in this disguise, and sat down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar to be a lively sarcastic fellow, and a very bad subject for some practical jokes which they attempted to put upon him. He pretended great anger, and threatened to inform Rob Roy of their conduct towards him, who was but a poor harmless fellow. They immediately asked him what he knew of Rob Roy, and where that person was. The beggar said he knew him well, and also knew where he then was. Of this the sergeant of the party informed the officer, who sending for the beggar, engaged him to conduct himself and his party to Crianlarich, where he said Rob Roy and his men then were; their arms being lodged in one house, while they themselves were sitting in another; so that it was expected they would fall an easy prey. He told them, besides, that Rob Roy was on very friendly and intimate terms with him, sometimes placing him at the head of his table; and "when it is dark," he said to the officer, "I shall go forward, you will follow in half an hour, and when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the sergeant and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company." Accordingly, when it was dark, the beggar went forward, and the officer with his party followed at the appointed time. It is said, indeed, that the beggar and the soldiers went part of the way together; and that on their way they had to ford a rapid river, where the soldiers asked their merry friend, the beggar, to carry them across. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time, and demanding a penny from each for his trouble. The officer going to the house in due time after the beggar, rushed in, accompanied by the sergeant and three soldiers. They had scarce time to look to the end of the table, where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut, and they were instantly seized by two armed men on each side, and pinioned. They were threatened with instant death if they uttered the least cry. The beggar then went out and called in the rest of the party, two and two, who were all served in the same manner. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till the morning; when, after a plentiful breakfast, they were released, on taking an oath on the dirk (before the same man called the Bailie, who is mentioned in the preceding story), to return immediately to their garrison, without making any further attempt at this time,

Their arms and ammunition were kept by Rob Roy to make their promise sure, and as being the lawful prize of war.

The same officer was afterwards sent against Rob Roy to retrieve his former mishap; but was again, through the skill and activity of this extraordinary man, taken prisoner with his party, and the whole of them deprived of their arms. All this seems very strange, when we consider that it was actually done within the last century: and at a time when the government had assumed a much greater authority in the Highlands than for many centuries before.

“The truth is,” as our author observes, “the thing could not have happened had it not been for the peculiarity of the man’s character; for, with all his lawless spoliations, and unremitting acts of vengeance and robbery against the Montrose family, he had not an enemy in the country beyond the sphere of their influence. He never hurt, or meddled with the property of a poor man; and, as I have stated, was always careful that his great enemy should be the principal and the only sufferer. Had it been otherwise, it was impossible that, notwithstanding all his enterprise, address, intrepidity, and vigilance, he could have long escaped in a populous country, and with a warlike people well qualified to execute any daring exploit; such as a seizure of this man, had they been his enemies and willing to do so. Instead of which, he lived socially among them,—gave the education of gentlemen to his sons,—frequented the most populous towns, whether in Edinburgh, Perth, or Glasgow; at the same time displaying a great and masterly address in avoiding or calling for public notice.”

We have a similar instance of this mixture of licentiousness with justice, and fierceness with humanity, in the history of Sergeant Mor Cameron. This Mor Cameron was a Highlander, who had been a sergeant in the French service, and had returned to his native country in 1745, to take a part in the rebellion. In consequence of his having served with the rebels, and having been a noted man, he took refuge with some desperate adventurers in the mountains, in the very heart of the Highlands, where they lived by plunder. He would by no means suffer any violence to be committed against those who were attached to the same cause, but always protected their property and persons. The same protection was extended to those who were wise enough to purchase it by paying *black mail*; that is, a certain sum in money or in goods, as the consideration of being exempt from the plunder of their cattle or other property. To these engagements he was most scrupulously faithful, holding it a point of honour to regard them to the letter. Our author mentions the following instance of his honourable forbearance:

"On one occasion he met with an officer of the garrison of Fort William, on the mountains of Lochaber. The officer told him that he suspected he had lost his way; and, having a large sum of money for the garrison, was afraid of meeting the Sergeant Mor; he therefore requested that the stranger would accompany him on his road. The other agreed; and while they walked on, they talked much of the sergeant and his feats, the officer using much freedom, calling him robber, murderer—"Stop there!" interrupted his companion, "he does, indeed, take the cattle of the whigs, and you Sassenachs, but neither he nor his cearnachs ever shed innocent blood, except once, added he, 'that I was unfortunate at Braemar, when a man was killed, but I immediately ordered the *creach* (spoil) to be abandoned, and left to the owners; retreating as fast as we could after such a misfortune. 'You!' said the officer, 'what had you to do with the affair?' 'I am John Du Cameron; I am the sergeant. There is the road to Inverlochy; you cannot now mistake it. You and your money are safe. Tell your governor to send a more wary messenger for his gold: tell him also, that although an outlaw, and forced to live on the public, I am a soldier as well as himself, and would despise taking his gold from a defenceless man who confided in me.' The officer lost no time in reaching the garrison, and never forgot the adventure, which he frequently related.

"Soon after this, the Sergeant Mor was betrayed by a treacherous friend, and taken by a party under the command of Lieutenant (afterwards sir Hector) Munro. This happened at the farm of Dunan in Rannoch, where he was in the habit of sleeping in safety, till that night, when it is said that his landlord sent notice to Lieut. Munro, who was stationed two miles distant. Cameron slept in a barn, his arms having, as was supposed, been secretly removed by his false friend. He was found asleep, and the soldiers rushed in and seized him; but being a powerful man he shook them all off, and made his way to the door, where he was overpowered by those on the outside. He threw off one of the soldiers with such force against the wall of the barn, that he was long disabled by the bruises. Cameron was carried to Perth, and tried before the court of Justiciary for the murder in Braemar, and various acts of theft and cattle stealing. One of those acts of theft was stealing from the Duke of Athol's parks, at Blair, two wedders; which the party killed for food on their retreat from Braemar. Cameron was executed at Perth, on the 23d November, 1753, and hung in chains."

Many other well-authenticated instances of fidelity, and the loftiest sentiment of honour, might be mentioned as occurring not only among the people of the Highlands in general, but even among those of them, who, like the Serjeant Mor and Rob Roy, have, by the courses which they pursued, brought the character of the whole people into discredit, during a great part of the last century, and exhibited them as a nation of marauders and cattle stealers. The case of the Highlander who acted so nobly towards the unfortunate Prince Charles Edward,

after the battle of Culloden (his name we think was Kennedy), seems still more worthy of compassion than that of Serjeant Mor. The stern fidelity with which he resisted all temptations and bribes to betray the confidence reposed in him,—the generosity and zeal with which he conducted himself towards the unfortunate wanderer who placed himself in his power, were circumstances as noble as could well distinguish the character of a human being. The man, however, was hanged at Inverness for stealing a cow—that is, for seizing and driving off a cow which belonged to a man with whom he was at feud.

There are also many instances of the stern and unrelenting discountenance with which the Highlanders visit those who have been guilty of great crimes. Our author mentions two which have occurred within his own remembrance. Two men crossing Loch Tay in a boat, were, when near the middle of the lake, observed by the people on shore to stand up in the boat as if struggling violently, and then suddenly to sit or fall down. When the boat reached the shore one of the men was missing. His companion stated that the other was intoxicated, had quarrelled with him in the boat, and risen to strike him, but his foot slipped, and he fell overboard and was drowned. This story was not believed, because the survivor was known to be very quarrelsome and passionate, and was of great bodily strength. He was therefore committed to jail and tried, but was acquitted for want of evidence. On his return to his native place, where the circumstance had occurred, it appeared that there was a firm conviction entertained of his guilt. He was not maltreated, nor upbraided, nor insulted; but every man's back was turned upon him. No man would speak to him. This he endured for some time; but at last he left the country, and was heard of no more. In another case, a young woman was found drowned in a flax-pool, on the margin of which there were many traces of struggling, and strong marks of violence on the body. It was evident that she had been murdered and forced into the water. A young man who had been her sweetheart was suspected of the murder—was tried, and acquitted for want of evidence. But there was evidence enough to satisfy his neighbours. He reached home after his acquittal on Saturday night, and next day took his seat in church. The whole of that part of the church in which he sate was deserted. After service, when he appeared in the church-yard, he was left standing alone—no one would speak to him—on his way home, all those on the same road hurried away before him, or lagged behind, leaving him alone. This was more than he could bear. He disappeared that same night, and was not heard of afterwards. Our author does not contend that this

visitation of public opinion is peculiar to the Highlands. It is enough to say, that where it is so often and so strongly exhibited, it marks a high tone of moral feeling in the people.

Before we leave this part of the subject, we must give the following curious instance of fidelity, in which our readers may recognise the original of Davie Gellatly in the novel of *Waverley* :

“ In the years 1746 and 1747, some of the gentlemen *‘who had been out’* in the rebellion, were occasionally concealed in a deep woody den near my grandfather’s house. A poor half-witted creature, brought up about the house, was, along with many others, intrusted with the secret of their concealment, and employed in supplying them with necessaries. It was supposed that when the troops came round on their usual searches, they would not imagine that he could be intrusted with so important a secret, and, consequently, no questions would be asked. One day, two ladies, friends of the gentlemen, wished to visit them in their cave, and asked Jamie Forbes to show them the way. Seeing that they came from the house, and judging from their manner that they were friends, he did not object to their request, and walked away before them. When they had proceeded a short way, one of the ladies offered him five shillings. The instant he saw the money, he put his hands behind his back, and seemed to lose all recollection. ‘He did not know what they wanted;—he never saw the gentlemen, and knew nothing of them;’ and, turning away, walked in a quite contrary direction. When questioned afterwards why he ran away from the ladies, he answered, that when he saw such a sum, (five shillings was a sum of value seventy years ago, and would have bought two sheep in the Highlands,) he suspected they had no good intention, and that their fine clothes and fair words were meant to entrap the gentlemen.”

It may perhaps be somewhat fanciful to ascribe the religious habits of a people to the peculiar situation of the Highlanders—to the influence of wild and romantic scenery—to the extraordinary appearances of nature in the dreary solitudes of a mountainous country—to the constant impression of the immediate interference of the Deity, and the habitual reference to the exercise of almighty power. But it is impossible to be mistaken in the fact, that there is among the Highlanders, of all ranks, a veneration for all matters of religion, and a disposition towards the strict observance of all its duties, more widely diffused, and producing a more sensible effect upon their conduct, than is to be found among any people with whose history and habits we have any acquaintance.

It has been very truly said by Dalrymple, that the Highlands of Scotland is the only country in Europe that has never been distracted by religious controversy, or suffered from religious persecution. This has not proceeded from any indifference to the subject, but rather from the absence of all disposition to



dogmatise or dispute. Their fervent piety—their firm adherence to the simple principles of the Christian religion—and their implicit reference to the Holy Scriptures, have secured them from those evils and distractions to which countries, regarding themselves as enlightened, have been subjected. Presbyterians—the members of the Scots Episcopal Church, and Roman Catholics, are the only denomination of Christians to be found within the Highlands, with a few inconsiderable exceptions in some of the border countries. Presbyterianism, being the established religion of Scotland, has also become the prevailing form in the Highlands. But there are still many districts in which a great majority of the inhabitants have retained the old established Episcopal religion, and a few in which the Roman Catholic faith continues to prevail.

Many circumstances in the character of the Highlanders tend to make them averse to change; and, in a matter of such vital importance as their religion, and on which their feelings were so strong, it has been found very difficult to introduce any innovation. Besides the political reasons which engaged the greater number of the clans to join the royal party during the great civil wars, religious motives had also a considerable influence, and they long resisted the establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government after the law had extended it over the whole kingdom. Nor can we wonder at the aversion of a people so simple in their habits—so determined in their adherence to that which they considered right—and so little given to religious disputation, to any change in the mode of worship which they themselves and their forefathers had so long scrupulously observed, and which was sanctified in their estimation by so many solemn and affecting circumstances. In the statistical account of Scotland there is contained an account of a very remarkable instance of this aversion, which we see is also noticed in the work before us. It occurred in the parish of Glenorchy.

This parish is situated in the more northern and most remote part of the county of Argyle. After the Presbyterian religion had been established by law throughout the kingdom of Scotland, Mr. David Lindsay, who was at that time the Episcopal clergyman of Glenorchy under the old establishment, was directed by the Duke of Argyle to surrender his charge to a Presbyterian incumbent. Mr. Lindsay was exceedingly beloved by his parishioners, and seems to have been a man well worthy of the estimation in which they held him. He, however, prepared to obey the directions of the Duke of Argyle, and to surrender his parish to the new clergyman. This latter gentleman arrived on a Saturday evening to take possession of the living, but was

surprised to find that no individual in the parish would speak to him, or pay any regard to the purpose for which he came. Every door was shut against him except that of Mr. Lindsay, who received him with kindness and hospitality. Next day, being Sunday, the new clergyman went to the church to perform divine service. There he found the whole population of the parish assembled in the church-yard, but they did not enter the church. No one spoke to him—nor was there the least noise or violence. But, when he attempted to enter the church, he was at once surrounded by twelve men, fully armed, who told him that he must accompany them. Mr. Lindsay, who had attended his guest to the church-yard, seeing this violence, intreated them to desist; but all his intreaties were disregarded. His parishioners had resolved on the course they would pursue, and no consideration could induce them to change it. They marched away with the new minister to the boundary of the parish, a bagpiper playing before them as they went. There they made the astonished and terrified Presbyterian take on oath on the Bible never to return or attempt to disturb Mr. Lindsay. The good man kept his oath. But the synod of Argyle, whose immediate authority was thus strangely violated, were exceedingly incensed, and threatened to enforce the law and punish the authors of this outrage. Nevertheless, when they found that the parishioners were perfectly unanimous, and were thoroughly determined to resist to the uttermost any renewed attempt to force upon them a Presbyterian clergyman, and to displace Mr. Lindsay, it was thought prudent not to push the matter further. And it is an extraordinary fact that Mr. Lindsay lived for thirty years after this occurrence, and died the episcopal clergyman of Glenorchy, in the undisturbed possession of the living—loved and revered by all the inhabitants of the parish.

Connected with the religious feelings of the Highlanders was the opinion which universally prevailed among them of the infliction of Divine vengeance even in this life on the authors of any enormous crime. Our author seems disposed to rate them more highly for this opinion than seems to us to be consistent with sound and sober principles. The prevalence of such opinions rather indicates a slight knowledge of the system of the Divine government of the world. It is not countenanced by any thing in revealed religion, nor can it well be inferred by any deductions of reason, or the course of human experience. At the same time it is discreditable rather to the understanding than to the morality of this people. But our author has given a most striking instance of the powerful effects which such an opinion can produce, and the force of feeling with which it is

attended, in a case which cannot fail most powerfully to excite the sympathy of every humane and reflecting mind :

“ The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual descended as a curse on his children to the third or fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years’ intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of marines. He was grandson of the Laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glenco, and who lived in the laird of Glenco’s house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half-pay. He then entered the marines, and in 1762 was Major, with the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet, the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

“ The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell’s fingers, and, clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, ‘ The curse of God and of Glenco is here ; I am an unfortunate ruined man.’ He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that, while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair.”

After these hasty and imperfect notices of some of the more striking peculiarities of the Highlanders, as they have occurred to us in the perusal of the interesting volumes before us, we feel it necessary to pass to the other parts of the work. The remaining portions of it, though they relate entirely to the affairs of the gallant author's countrymen, extend to matters not at all comprehended within that view to which our attention has hitherto been confined. We have hitherto touched upon nothing but what relates to the character of this people as it existed under the system of clan-ship, or has remained unaffected by the great changes which more modern times have produced in their political situation. It is to that situation that the remaining part of the work of Colonel Stewart almost entirely relates. He enters very fully into the present condition of the people under the change of system, on the part of the landlords, which has taken place in most parts of the country, and then gives (what constitutes the most bulky and, we doubt not, in the estimation of many persons, the most interesting part of the work), a history of the military services of the Highland regiments. This history is sketched by our author with much fidelity and animation, and embraces numerous authentic documents and narratives of the highest interest. If it were not that on the first portion of the work we have almost exhausted the space which we can reasonably afford to the notice of one publication, we could find, in the military history of these regiments, ample materials for amusement and instruction—new opportunities for observing the peculiarities of the Highland character.

Of that part of the work which relates to the present condition of the people, and notices the changes which have been introduced by speculators in land, or speculating landlords, we can only say that it has excited in our minds the most painful feelings. It will be seen that our author is warmly, even enthusiastically, attached to the Highlands, and entertains the most exalted opinion of the character of the people,—that he is disposed to attribute many of their virtues to the peculiarity of their situation under the ancient system—to the intimate connexion which subsisted between the highest rank and the lowest—to the mutuality of interest and the unity of feeling which prevailed among them. Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to disturb that state of society—to dissolve the connexion which in more ancient times subsisted between the chief and his clansmen—and more recently between a landlord and his tenants, is not likely to meet with his approbation. But when we consider the facts, strong and conclusive, by which he has supported his opinions, however much we may be disposed to vindicate

the rights of landowners to avail themselves of all their legal privileges,—however much we may concur in the principles of political economists, who teach us that such enterprises and speculations tend to the public benefit, something we must allow for mere human feelings, and some doubts (very strong doubts) how far any prospect of public advantage, or the exercise of any private right is justifiable where so much actual misery is produced. Our author, indeed, takes much higher ground. He disputes the wisdom of permitting many of these changes on grounds of public policy, and as they affect the vital interests of the nation at large; and gives many instances where, besides the expulsion and expatriation of many worthy families, the ruin and destruction of the individuals by whom these schemes have been attempted to be executed have been among their consequences. He gives, besides, so many instances of the relentless perseverance with which these schemes were prosecuted, of their baneful effects upon the morals of the people and the appearance of the country, that it is almost impossible to resist the strength of his appeal to the principles of humanity and justice. At the same time it is plain, that so long as individuals think they have a prospect of increasing their incomes by changing the mode of managing their estates, it is in vain to expect that a regard to the feelings and the comforts of ancient tenants or humble cottagers can be sufficient to prevent a resort to those plans for the improvement of income. And yet can we wonder that the feelings of our author are strongly excited by the mode in which such projected improvements are conducted, when we hear such facts stated as that which is mentioned in the following extract.

“Reports are published of the unprecedented increase of the fisheries on the coast of the Highlands, proceeding, as it is said, from the late improvements; whereas it is well known that the increase is almost entirely occasioned by the resort of fishers from the south. To form an idea of the estimation in which Highland fishermen are held, and the little share they have in those improvements of the fisheries noticed in the newspapers, we may turn to an advertisement in the Inverness newspapers, describing sixty lots of land to be let in that country for fishing stations. To this notice is added a declaration that a *‘decided preference will be given to STRANGERS.’* Thus, while on the one hand, the unfortunate natives are driven from their farms in the interior, a decided preference is given to strangers to settle on the coast, and little hope left for them save that those invited from a distance will not accept the offer. When they see themselves thus rejected both as cultivators and fishermen, what can be expected but despondency, indolence, and a total neglect of all improvement or exertion?”

It is impossible for us to enter at this time into any further

examination of the conduct of those Highland proprietors whose proceedings are reprobated in this work. The following plain inferences, however, it is not easy to dispute—that a change such as has been wrought in the Highlands by the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, by the breaking up of the whole system of clanship, and by the introduction of the modern modes of husbandry and grazing, must, in itself, have produced a great deal of misery among a people of the habits and dispositions we have been describing; that to soften the transition, and render the change gradual, is to diminish the pressure of misery thus necessarily produced; and that to accelerate the process is to aggravate the infliction. And if it be true, as our author states (we believe it is not disputed), that in some cases the influence of the most powerful families, and of the greatest wealth, has been used for the very purpose of making this change more speedy in some districts;—if in those districts hundreds of the ancient tenants have been forced by the strong arm of the law from their ancient possessions, all argument as to the general or special policy of these acts is quite in vain. Our understandings and our hearts must alike acknowledge that there has been a violation of those principles and those feelings which ought for ever to be held sacred. We cannot but wish that, at least in our days, such things had not been; that there had been no attempt to argue down those cries of distress which ought never to have been heard.

A more unimportant injury of which our author complains on behalf of his country is, the disparagement of the character of the people by some modern writers, by some even of those who profess to have written from personal observation. On the whole, we do not think that many injuries of this kind have been inflicted upon the Highlanders. Their character has, we really believe, been more seriously injured by injudicious panegyrics, and by the vulgar popularity which it has lately obtained, than by any deliberate misstatements, or accidental misrepresentation. This vulgar admiration, and the stupid praises of men ignorant alike of the excellencies or defects of the character of the people, has probably tended to excite the spleen of those writers whose calumnies are most warmly, and we may say for the most part, satisfactorily, refuted by Colonel Stewart. One writer, Dr. Macculloch, has, in a recent work, the following passage: “They (the Highlanders) are every where notedly averse to the army, and I do not say, *without abundant information*, that it probably would be impossible to raise a single recruit by beat of drum, or a single volunteer for the navy, throughout the islands. It is doubtful if the whole islands possess at this moment one hundred men in both services.

*Skye, with a population of 16,000, has not a man in the army.*" In another passage the same writer says, "if recruits should be raised in the islands, they would be found in Islay, not in Skye or the Long Island." These are mistatements conclusively and triumphantly refuted by our author. He shows, from the regimental returns and other indisputable documents, that 732 men enlisted for the 78th regiment from one landlord's estate in the Long Island; and that during the late war, including those serving in marching regiments, the island of Skye had at one time 3,680 men in arms in the military service. Our author, after correcting these mistakes, proceeds in the following animated terms:

"As I have served with many a good and brave soldier from that island (Skye), and as I have observed a stronger sense of religion, a clearer knowledge of their faith, and more general intelligence than is usually found among the common people of any country, with much moral feeling, industry, and capability in the Highlands, I may be allowed to doubt the accuracy of statements which militate against the evidence of my own senses, and what I have seen with my own eyes; I may be allowed to express pity and sympathy for an unfortunate race who suffer so severely, and who are in the progress of suffering still more, from these prejudiced and distorted views of their character.—*But they will not suffer alone*; if the modern system is pursued—if all the kindness and encouragement of landlords are to be bestowed on men of capital alone—if they are to be nourished and protected, and the people rejected and despised—if two castes, capitalists and cottars, are formed without common interests, feelings, or sympathy—if government and the proprietors of the soil give credit to the statements laid before the public, and withdraw their countenance from the Highlanders as a people totally worthless—the rich farmers will learn to look with contempt on the poor ejected Highlanders, who, in their turn, will attribute their depression and poverty to the avarice of the landlords, and to the encroachments of the great monopolists of the soil. And thus, as I have more than once noticed, mutual jealousies and hatred will be generated; the moral ties which intimately connected the landlord, tacksman, and small tenant dissolved; and the Highlands of Scotland may have to witness the painful contrast of a *virtuous and contented, with a demoralized and disaffected population.*"

It is impossible to resist the force of this appeal. But the evils which are here complained of seem scarcely to lie within the reach of any remedy by legislative measures. The character of the Highlanders has sometimes been mistaken by the government, but not, so far as we know, within the present times. We have heard no complaint against any measure which the present government have adopted towards that country, nor of any thing to indicate that they have been misled by any statements, or have in any degree withdrawn their countenance

from the Highlanders, or considered them to be a worthless people. Every thing, on the contrary, seems to show that the government entertains a very different opinion, and holds the virtues of this people in the highest estimation.

The strain of lamentation in which our author talks of the changes which have taken place in the manners and disposition of the people, where modern innovations have prevailed, is impressive and affecting. All the high feelings and exultation with which he records the excellencies and virtues that distinguished them in more ancient times, sink in the contemplation of the melancholy change. It should be his consolation, however, to reflect that enough still remains among them, even after the most desponding view of the ravages which have been wrought by the vices of the modern system—enough of virtue to command the admiration of their countrymen, and to sustain the worth and dignity of their character.

ART. XX.—*Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, 1820. By William Wordsworth. Longman and Co. London. 1820.

THE curiosity which is excited in us by the promise of new presents from Parnassus, is usually shaded by uneasiness and mistrust. We expect to find something of which, as men loving our country and its mind, we cannot approve. But Mr. Wordsworth, who pours forth more intellect in song than almost any poet of his day, never fails to interest the heart on the side of virtuous principles. We have plenty of writers of poetry, but very few makers of poetry. Mr. Wordsworth creates. His racy and sparkling products taste of the salient fountain rather than of the stagnant reservoir. They have the distinctness of originality, and exhibit that peculiar train of ideas which specific appearances in general nature, or local manners, generate in a mind of poetic susceptibility and inventive power. Perhaps there is no poet of the day, whose performances are more completely his own, more genuinely the fruit of observation and individual experience. We have sometimes quarrelled with his affectation of extreme simplicity, the vice of a former day, and of a class of writers whose genius has been in some measure sacrificed to it. But Mr. Wordsworth, who must struggle hard to be penurious with a treasury so full, however well he may occasionally have simulated poverty, has, for the most part, been incapable of withholding his abundance.



His fancy from her rich dowry has in general adorned his page with a remarkable plenitude of thought, and well-managed profusion of imagery.

These Sonnets have given us the more pleasure in the perusal, on account of the portraiture they present. They are not descriptive of what every man sees or may see every day, but bring before us characteristic scenes which, while their remoteness invests them with a certain romantic interest, have enough of resemblance to what is most familiar to us within our daily observation, to make them mix with our habitual thoughts, and find their way readily to our bosoms. Nor can we help remarking that the manner in which these little poems have been suggested, has given them a freshness and fidelity of tact which greatly assists their effect. They have the flavour as well as the bloom of fruit just gathered. What is prepared in the closet with the double labour of recollection and description, is usually defective in that accurate and felicitous representation which realizes and illumines remote objects,—which catches and retains transitory and fading forms,—which gives body and permanence to accidental graces and evanescent glories. The living landscape should be taken while it is speaking to the fancy, and unfolding its moral. Mr. Wordsworth has caught this expression and character with the eye and feeling of the poet, and has given it an utterance in most appropriate language.

We wish, however, to see Mr. Wordsworth engaged in some more important and continuous exertion of his powers. It is rather too lounging for such a poet to dissipate his resources in short and sportive exercises, to the neglect of all grand and adequate undertakings, in which the varied gifts of his mind might be collectively and momentarily displayed. We are admirers of the Sonnet; but it is impossible to read through a volume of Sonnets without a sense of weariness. They will not admit of variety. Whatever difference there may be in the nature of the subjects, the manner of handling them must be the same. The necessity of keeping to one subject, contracting or extending it to a certain length, and then finally dismissing it, shuts out all those great artifices for affecting the passions, inflaming the curiosity, and shaking the bosom by alternation and transition, which belong to other more sustained and expanded efforts of poetry; and though there is something in the simple texture of the versification with which Mr. Wordsworth has lately permitted himself to be engrossed,—something in the extension of a single idea to the close of the composition, that may be soothing and reposing to the mind of the reader, that may relieve attention,

and spare exertion,—it comes far short of that standard of excellence for which the Muse of our author is so fully prepared and qualified. For what it is, however, the specimen before us is excellent, and for the purpose of embodying and perpetuating the recollections of which our melodious traveller has made it the vehicle, and which have no other connexion than as succeeding one to the other, in the progress of a summer tour, no form of poetry could be better fitted. We will now lay before our readers an example or two in proof of what we have prepared him to expect; at the same time observing, that it is a matter of some difficulty, from amongst so many well-executed pieces, to ground our selection on any exclusiveness of choice. We may almost take at random; but we think the description of the scenery between Namur and Liege, a very happy and vigorous effusion.

*“ Scenery between Namur and Liege.*

- “ What lovelier home could gentle Fancy chuse?  
Is this the Stream, whose cities, heights, and plains,  
War's favorite play-ground, are with crimson stains  
Familiar, as the Morn with pearly dews?  
The Morn, that now along the silver MUSE  
Spreading her peaceful ensigns, calls the Swains  
To tend their silent boats and ringing wains,  
Or strip the bough whose mellow fruit bestrewn  
The ripening corn beneath it. As mine eyes  
Turn from the fortified and threatening hill,  
How sweet the prospect of yon watery glade,  
With its grey rocks, clustering in pensive shade,  
That, shaped like old monastic turrets, rise  
From the smooth meadow-ground, serene and still.” (P. 5.)

And again, in a similar strain of vivid, and, if the expression is not too strong, dramatic exhibition, follows the description of the passing scenery on the banks of the river Rhine, seen from the carriage, in its rapid flight.

*“ In a Carriage, upon the Banks of the Rhine.*

- “ Amid this dance of objects sadness steals  
O'er the defrauded heart—while sweeping by,  
As in a fit of Thespian jollity,  
Beneath her vine-leaf crown the green Earth reels:  
Backward, in rapid evanescence, wheels  
The venerable pageantry of Time,  
Each beetling rampart—and each tower sublime,  
And what the Dell unwillingly reveals  
Of lurking cloistral arch, through trees espied  
Near the bright River's edge. Yet why repine?  
Pedestrian liberty shall yet be mine  
To muse, to creep, to halt at will, to gaze:

Freedom which youth with copious hand supplied,  
May in fit measure bless my later days." (P. 9.)

It is but a little gem amidst this jewellery, but it is too pretty and sparkling to be passed over; we shall, therefore, present to our readers the short tribute of the poet to the memorial of Aloys Reding, the brave and unfortunate captain-general of the Swiss forces, who unsuccessfully—ah, painful thought!—opposed the desolating march of the troops under Buonaparte.

“ MEMORIAL,

“ NEAR THE OUTLET OF THE LAKE OF THUN.

‘ DEM  
ANDENKEN  
MEINES FREUNDES  
ALOYS REDING  
MDCCCXVIII.’

- “ Around a wild and woody hill  
A gravelled path-way treading,  
We reached a votive Stone that bears  
The name of Aloys Reding.
- “ Well judged the Friend who placed it there  
For silence and protection,  
And haply with a finer care  
Of dutiful affection.
- “ The Sun regards it from the West,  
Sinking in summer glory;  
And, while he sinks, affords a type  
Of that pathetic story.
- “ And oft he tempts the patriot Swiss  
Amid the grove to linger;  
Till all is dim, save this bright Stone  
Touched by his golden finger.” (P. 15, 16.)

“The Eclipse of the Sun” is a charming sample of Mr Wordsworth’s peculiar exquisiteness of observation, always on the watch to seize the pathos which any crisis of nature develops to the pensive and moralizing mind. His dominion of language, his density of thought, and his warmth of imagination on these occasions, place him at least on an equal height with any poet of the present day. Whatever critics may coldly predicate of this writer, he has the arbitration of the heart in his favour.

“ *The Eclipse of the Sun, 1821.*

- “ High on her speculative Tower  
Stood Science waiting for the Hour  
When Sol was destined to endure  
That darkening of his radiant face

Which Superstition strove to chase,  
Erewhile, with rites impure.

“ Afloat beneath Italian skies,  
Thro' regions fair as Paradise  
We gaily passed,—till Nature wrought  
A silent and unlooked-for change,  
That checked the desultory range  
Of joy and sprightly thought.

“ Where'er was dipped the toiling oar  
The waves danced round us as before,  
As lightly, tho' of altered hue;  
Mid recent coolness, such as falls  
At noon-tide from umbrageous walls  
That screen the morning dew.

“ No vapour stretched its wings; no cloud  
Cast far or near a murky shroud;  
The sky an azure field displayed;  
'Twas sun-light sheathed and gently charmed,  
Of all its sparkling rays disarmed,  
And as in slumber laid:—

“ Or something night and day between,  
Like moon-shine—but the hue was green;  
Still moon-shine, without shadow, spread  
On jutting rock, and curved shore,  
Where gazed the Peasant from his door,  
And on the mountain's head.

“ It tinged the Julian steeps—it lay  
Upon Lugano's ample bay;  
The solemnizing veil was drawn  
O'er Villas, Terraces, and Towers,  
To Albogasio's olive bowers,  
Porlezza's verdant lawn.

“ But Fancy, with the speed of fire,  
Hath fled to Milan's loftiest spire,  
And there alights 'mid that aerial host  
Of figures human and divine,  
White as the snows of Apennine  
Indurated by frost.

“ Awe-stricken she beholds the array  
That guards the Temple night and day;  
Angels she sees that might from heaven have flown;  
And Virgin Saints—who not in vain  
Have striven by purity to gain  
The beatific crown;

“ Far-stretching files concentric rings  
Each narrowing above each;—the wings—

The uplifted palms, the silent marble lips,  
 The starry zone of sovereign height,  
 All steeped in this portentous light!  
 All suffering dim eclipse!

“ Thus after Man had fallen, (if aught  
 These perishable spheres have wrought  
 May with that issue be compared)  
 Throngs of celestial visages,  
 Darkening like water in the breeze,  
 A holy sadness shared.

“ See! while I speak, the labouring Sun  
 His glad deliverance has begun:  
 The cypress waves its sombre plume  
 More cheerily; and Town and Tower,  
 The Vineyard and the Olive bower,  
 Their lustre re-assume!

“ Oh ye, who guard and grace my Home  
 While in far-distant Lands we roam,  
 Enquiring thoughts are turned to you;  
 Does a clear ether meet your eyes?  
 Or have black vapours hid the skies  
 And mountains from your view?

“ I ask in vain—and know far less  
 If sickness, sorrow, or distress  
 Have spared my Dwelling to this hour:  
 Sad blindness! but ordained to prove  
 Our Faith in Heaven's unfailing love  
 And all-controlling Power.”

(P. 41—45.)

We were exceedingly struck with the picturesque moralizing of the following sonnet, wherein the chimerical forms portrayed to the fancy in the summer-evening sky are described. The reflection springs so naturally out of the scenery, that it seems to be almost dictated by it to the heart of the poet.

*“ Sky-prospect—from the Plain of France.”*

“ Lo! in the burning West, the craggy nape  
 Of a proud Ararat! and, thereupon,  
 The Ark, her melancholy voyage done!  
 Yon rampant Cloud mimics a Lion's shape;  
 There—combats a huge Crocodile—agape  
 A golden spear to swallow! and that brown  
 And massy Grove, so near yon blazing Town,  
 Stirs—and recedes—destruction to escape!  
 Yet all is harmless as the Elysian shades  
 Where Spirits dwell in undisturb'd repose,  
 Silently disappears, or quickly fades;—  
 Meek Nature's evening comment on the shows  
 That for oblivion take their daily birth,  
 From all the fuming vanities of Earth!”

(P. 65.)

We will trespass by only one extract more.

*"The Column intended by Buonaparte for a Triumphant Edifice in Milan,  
now lying by the way-side on the Simplon Pass."*

"Ambition, following down this far-famed slope  
Her Pioneer, the snow-dissolving Sun,  
While clarions prate of Kingdoms to be won,  
Perchance, in future ages, here may stop ;  
Taught to mistrust her flattering horoscope  
By admonition from this prostrate Stone ;  
Memento uninscribed of Pride o'erthrown,  
Vanity's hieroglyphic—a choice trope  
In fortune's rhetoric. Daughter of the Rock,  
Rest where thy course was stayed by Power Divine !  
The Soul transported sees, from hint of thine,  
Crimes which the great Avenger's hand provoke,  
Hears combats whistling o'er the ensanguin'd heath :  
What groans ! what shrieks ! what quietness in death !"

(P. 50.)

The tribute paid to Mr. Southey's genius, by exhibiting, in a note, a passage from the "Poet's Pilgrimage," describing the beautiful city of Bruges, does peculiar honour to our author's candour, as he brings it into immediate comparison with his own sonnet on the same subject. Shall we be excused for extracting verses from Mr. Southey in an article on a poem of Mr. Wordsworth? We cannot help it.

"Time hath not wronged her, nor hath Ruin sought  
Rudely her splendid Structures to destroy,  
Save in those recent days, with evil fraught,  
When Mutability, in drunken joy  
Triumphant, and from all restraint released,  
Let loose her fierce and many-headed beast.

"But for the scars in that unhappy rage  
Inflicted, firm she stands and undecayed ;  
Like our first Sires, a beautiful old age  
Is hers in venerable years arrayed ;  
And yet, to her, benignant stars may bring,  
What fate denies to man,—a second spring:

"When I may read of tilts in days of old,  
And tourneys graced by Chieftains of renown,  
Fair dames, grave citizens, and warriors bold,  
If fancy would pourtray some stately town,  
Which for such pomp fit theatre should be,  
Fair Bruges, I shall then remember thee." (P. 83, 84.)

In leaving Mr. Wordsworth, we turn away from objects at once captivating, improving, and pure. We leave him, however, with the hope of speedily renewing our intercourse with him; we had almost called it intimacy, as, in reading his

poetry, we seem to have been in deep and cheerful converse with his intelligent and fervid mind. Would that our travellers brought back to their own country, in general, products as valuable as those with which Mr. Wordsworth has come loaded, who has gathered honey from every wild flower in his way. One cannot forbear contrasting this tourist carrying about with him a mind the recipient only of virtuous delights and improving sympathies, with those who visit the Continent to see what disorder they can revive upon her ensanguined surface, or what seeds of revolutionary mischief they can import to their own shores.

#### ART. XXI.—PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF PARIS AND LONDON.

1. *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes, jusqu'à la Fondation de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, et sur les Causes qui ont favorisé l'Accroissement successif du Nombre des Livres.* Par Louis Charles François Petit-Radel. 8vo. Paris.
2. *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany.* By the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, FRS. SA. Vol. II. 8vo. London, 1821.
3. *Notice des Monumens, exposés dans le Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque du Roi; suivie d'une Description des Objets les plus curieux que renferme cet Etablissement, de Notes Historiques sur sa Fondation, ses Accroissemens, &c.* 8vo. Paris, 1822.
4. *Librorum Impressorum, qui in Musco Britannico adservantur, Catalogus.* Londini, 1812, et annis sequentibus. 7 Vols. 8vo.
5. *A Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institution of Great Britain; including a complete List of all the Greek Writers, by the late Rev. Charles Burney, DD. FRS. &c. methodically arranged; with an Alphabetical Index of Authors.* By William Harris, Keeper of the Library. Royal 8vo. London, 1821.

AMONG the numerous books of travels in France, which have issued from the press, we have looked in vain for authentic particulars respecting its public libraries, especially those of Paris. A good account of the libraries, which have been formed at different times, would illustrate the literary history

of Europe; inasmuch as it would furnish us with notices of those authors, whose works were most in request. M. Petit-Radel's volume is a work of more promise than execution, though not devoid of interest; and as we have frequently heard comparisons instituted between the Parisian libraries and those of London, not much to the advantage of the latter, we shall lay before our readers, what we believe to be a concise but fair statement of the literary treasures of the rival capitals of France and England.

We are well aware that the excellence of a library consists, not in the number of its volumes, but in the selection and value of the works of which it is composed. Public libraries, which too many seem to consider as lounging rooms for the amusement of the idle, are chiefly estimable as repositories of those rare and valuable works, which few have the means of procuring, and fewer still possess ability to use aright; and of classical, biblical, and other manuscripts, coins, medals, and antiquities, which elucidate the history of former ages.

Our knowledge of the libraries of the ancients is very imperfect. Many incidental notices are extant of the libraries of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; but we know not what authors they contained, or what classification was adopted in them. Though the early Christians have been charged, unjustly, with destroying the remains of heathen genius, literature is much more indebted to them than the enemies of the Christian name are willing to allow. Anciently, every large church had its library; and, among these, history has made honourable mention of the library founded at Jerusalem, by the Bishop Alexander, whence Eusebius derived materials for his ecclesiastical history; and of that at Cæsarea, founded by the martyr Pamphilus, who is said to have equalled Demetrius Phalereus and Pisistratus in their taste for books. The most celebrated schools of the heathens were frequented by the first fathers of the church. Basil and Gregory Nazianzen studied at Antioch and Athens, under the same masters as the emperor Julian; and the children of the Christians resorted to those schools in such numbers that the apostate emperor issued an edict prohibiting their admission, which, however, was subsequently restored to them by Jovian. In a treatise, which Basil composed for the direction of youth when studying profane literature, he particularly recommends the reading of Homer, Hesiod, and Theognis, together with the writings of the most distinguished philosophers.

One proof that profane literature was continually recommended to Christians by their teachers is, that Augustine,



Bishop of Hippo, in Africa, in the fourth century, who mentions the library in that city, expressly states that the writings of Homer and Virgil were diligently studied; and from his quotations of the works of Plato, Varro, Cicero, Sallust, Persius, Terence, Livy, Lucan, Seneca, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Justin, Apuleius, Nigidius, the mathematician, Porphyry, and Claudian, in his celebrated treatise *De Civitate Dei*, we may reasonably conclude that the works of these authors were also deposited in the library at Hippo.

Numerous incidental notices of, and quotations from, the classics, occur in the productions of the ecclesiastical writers, who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries: and, even during the dark ages, as they are termed—that is, from the eighth to the fourteenth century, numerous vestiges are to be met with of the successful cultivation of literature and the elegant arts, by the clergy; by whom, indeed, they were preserved during the devastations of Europe, which lasted through that long and dismal period. It is true that before the invention of printing, *great* collections of books were rare. The libraries of the Arabian nations under their most enlightened sovereigns, consisted chiefly of translations from Greek authors. The Arabs extended their conquests into Italy and Spain; and with their arms carried their literature and sciences, which flourished in the latter country, under the fostering care of the Arabian monarchs, while all the rest of Europe was enveloped in the grossest barbarism and superstition. In the twelfth century not fewer than seventy libraries were daily open to the public, of which that at Cordova is said to have contained not less than two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. The ravages of the Crusaders and the devastations of the Turks, almost annihilated the libraries at Constantinople, on the capture of which city by Mahommed II. in 1453, the scholars of Greece were dispersed over western Europe, and carried with them many manuscripts that had escaped the desolating fury of the conqueror of their country. Learning now emerged from the silence of the cloister, whither she had retreated, and where she had been preserved from destruction. The Reformation promoted still more the cause of literature, and its general diffusion has been aided most signally by the discovery and almost universal adoption of the art of printing.

The public libraries of Paris are five in number, viz. the Royal Library, the Mazarine Library, the Library of St. Geneviève, that of Monsieur, at the Arsenal, and the City Library.

1. The *Royal Library of Paris* is justly deemed one of the finest in Europe. It was founded by Charles V. at whose death it contained nine hundred and ten manuscript volumes. Dur-

ing the reign of Charles VI. it was dispersed; and his successor's reign was too stormy to allow him time to amass books. After the introduction of the art of printing into France, the royal library received numerous important accessions, especially from Francis I. who deposited the books in the castle of Fontainebleau. Catharine de Medicis enriched the library, very considerably, with medals and manuscripts which she brought from Florence. During the troubles of the League, the collection was again scattered, but its remains were deposited in a house in the Rue de la Harpe. In 1666, the illustrious minister, Colbert, caused it to be removed to his hotel, and confided the care of it to the brothers Pierre and Jacques du Puy; who bequeathed in addition to it their own very valuable libraries. Their example was followed by Gaston de France, and Hyppolite Count Bethune. But the establishment received its character of grandeur from Louis XIV. who commissioned agents, in various parts of the world, to purchase whatever was most rare and valuable, in order to enrich this precious collection; which was still further augmented during the French Revolution by the destruction of the convents and religious houses.

The Royal Library is divided into four compartments, viz. printed books (among which are the rarest and most costly productions of the typographic art), manuscripts, engravings, antiquities, and medals. According to the "Notice des Monumens," the number of books amounts to four hundred thousand printed volumes, and one hundred thousand manuscripts; but M. Petit-Radel states this library to contain

Printed books .....	350,000
Pamphlets .....	350,000
Manuscripts .....	50,000

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750,000

The books and manuscripts are disposed in five classes, viz. Theology, Jurisprudence, History, Philosophy, and Belles Lettres, and these are again submitted to further divisions and subdivisions, referring to the catalogues, which consist of twenty-four manuscript volumes, five printed volumes, and considerable supplements. Some of these catalogues are alphabetical, and others are arranged in the order of the subjects. It is much to be regretted that no entire catalogue of this library has yet been printed. Mr. Dibdin has indicated its greatest typographical curiosities, for an account of which we must refer our readers to his *Bibliographical Tour*. The Royal Library is daily open to the public, during certain hours, except on Sundays and holidays, and is much frequented. With the permission of the minister of the interior (or, if they are ac-

quainted with M. Van Praet, the principal librarian), literary men of known character and respectability are permitted to have books out of the library.

2. The *Mazarine Library* derives its name from Cardinal Mazarin, by whom it was founded; and who was chiefly indebted to the celebrity of his first librarian Gabriel Naudé, for that fame which his library acquired. It is at present deposited in the *College de Mazarin* or *Des Quatre Nations* (where the Royal Institute of France holds its sittings); so called because it was founded and erected by Cardinal Mazarin, for the education of sixty scholars belonging to four nations, said to have been conquered by Louis XIV. Notwithstanding the various spoliations and revolutions which this library has undergone, and which are detailed with sufficient prolixity by M. Petit-Radel, it contains about 90,000 printed books, and 3437 manuscripts, many of which are of considerable rarity.

3. The Library of St. Geneviève occupies the upper part of the ancient convent of St. Geneviève, now called the College of Henry IV. Of all the libraries in Paris, this is said to be the most regularly arranged. It contains about 110,000 volumes, and two thousand manuscripts.

4. The Library of Monsieur, brother of his Majesty Louis XVIII. is deposited in the ancient building of the Arsenal. Successive purchases of entire collections (chiefly those of the Marquis de Paulmy and the Duke de la Vallière) have made it what it is—an inestimable collection of manuscripts and printed books. It is particularly rich in history, foreign literature, and poetry, especially the productions of the Italian muse. Mr. Dibdin estimates the number of printed books at 120,000; but M. Petit-Radel asserts it to contain 150,000 volumes, and 5000 manuscripts.

5. The City Library (*Bibliothèque de la Ville*), situated at the back of the Hôtel de Ville, contains about 15,000 volumes, well selected for purposes of utility, but has no splendid or curious specimens of early typography. This library, in common with the three preceding, is liberally open to the public during certain hours in every day, with the exception of Sundays and holidays.

It is, however, to be regretted that, with the exception of certain parts of the Royal Library, no printed catalogues are extant of the literary treasures of Paris. Mr. Dibdin, indeed, has described the rarest and most beautiful MSS. and specimens of early printing; but, of the vast mass of literature contained in them, particularly biblical literature, in which the royal library pre-eminently excels, the learned are necessarily ignorant. In this respect the public libraries of London are

honourably distinguished: and as it has not unfrequently been our lot to hear them arraigned as defective in their collections, and placed under illiberal restrictions, we think we shall confer a service on our inquisitive readers, by making known to them the vast treasures of literature and science which are easily accessible in the metropolis of the British empire.

First in the value, as well as in the number of its literary treasures, is the library of the British Museum. Besides the various curiosities from the South Seas, and other parts of the world, which attract the gaze of the thousands who annually visit this national establishment, it comprises cabinets of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and other antiquities and sculptures—coins and medals—zoology and mineralogy—engravings and drawings—and a vast library of MSS. and printed books. Many of these are the donations of public spirited individuals, but by far the greater part has been purchased by the munificence of parliament, at an expence little short of 250,000*l.* since the commencement of this noble Institution.

It is with the library, however, that we have at present to do, which is justly regarded as the first public library in the kingdom, and is inferior to none on the Continent for the number, rarity, and value of its MSS. and printed books. It comprises the great Sloanian, Cottonian, Harleian, Royal, Lansdowne, and other collections, concerning which we have been able to obtain the following particulars:

The *Sloanian* collection derives its name from the celebrated physician Sir Hans Sloane, who, during a long period of eminent practice, had accumulated a very large collection of natural and artificial curiosities, together with a numerous library of printed books and MSS., at the cost of 50,000*l.* Desirous that the whole should, if possible, be preserved entire, and permanently dedicated to public utility, he directed, by his will, that it should be offered to the British Parliament for the moderate sum of 20,000*l.* His noble offer was accordingly accepted after his decease, and the property of his museum was vested in trustees for the benefit of the public. Having not long since had occasion to give some account of the Cottonian, Harleian, and Lansdowne collections,\* we proceed to notice what is commonly termed the King's Library. This splendid collection of books was munificently presented to the public by his late Majesty, George II. It comprises the whole of the very choice and important library of printed books and MSS., which had been gradually collected by the sovereigns of these realms, from Henry VII. down to William III., since

whose time it has been continued, and is still annually increasing, by virtue of the privilege annexed to it of being supplied with a copy of every publication entered in Stationers' Hall, under the existing Acts of Parliament, relative to literary property. At the time of the royal donation, this library consisted of about two thousand manuscripts, and nine thousand printed books, besides the volumes immediately collected by the sovereigns, and principally by Henry VIII. (from the opportunities which offered at the dissolution of the monasteries): this collection contains the library of Archbishop Cranmer, Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, and his son-in-law Richard Lord Lumley, of Sir John Morris, and particularly of Isaac Casaubon, with whose learned critical annotations some of the volumes are enriched. The printed books of this library comprise an abundance of old and rare editions, many of them being presentation copies from their respective authors; and among the numerous splendid MSS. (chiefly biblical and chronicles) it contains the venerable Codex Alexandrinus, a manuscript of the fourth century, comprising the Greek New Testament and Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament. It is an interesting fact, but little known in the annals of literature, that in 1815, when the Allied Sovereigns were settling the pacification of Europe, very strenuous representations were made that the Codex Vaticanus (a similar manuscript of equal antiquity) might be transferred to the British Museum. To the honour of the late Marquis of Londonderry, we record, that this proposal was rejected; and to his integrity of principle the Pope is mainly indebted for the restoration of the very numerous manuscripts and works of art, of which Buonaparte had despoiled the Vatican Library and Palace.

Among the other manuscript collections purchased by the munificence of parliament, may be noticed Mr. Haller's Oriental MSS.; and those of Mr. Hargrave, which treat on a variety of important legal topics; to which may be added a large collection of Icelandic MSS. presented by the late Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Birch's MSS. bequeathed by him to the British Museum, rich in historical documents and the correspondence of eminent men. The total number of MSS. volumes in the British Museum (it is understood) amount to about 50,000.

The number of printed volumes has never been stated; but judging from the printed catalogue of them, we believe we are not incorrect in stating them to be about one million. The catalogue of them has been edited by Mr. Ellis and the Rev. H. H. Baber, and is alphabetically arranged. These books comprise almost every thing that is rare and valuable in the

various departments of literature, among which may be noticed, 1. Eighty-four volumes of Ancient Classics, which had been in the possession of the celebrated Dr. Bentley, and contain a great number of his truly learned illustrations and remarks, particularly his copy of Aristophanes: these books were purchased in 1807 for 400*l*. 2. The Cracherodean Collection, abounding in early printed books and classical literature, bequeathed by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. 3. The rare and valuable editions of the classics, bequeathed by Mr. Tyrwhitt and Sir William Musgrave, Bart.: and 4. The *King's Collection of Pamphlets and Periodical Papers*, published in the convulsive interval between the years 1640 and 1660. After having passed through the hands of various persons, some of whom were obliged to secrete it with great care and circumspection, it was at length offered for sale in 1762, when his late Majesty, Geo. III. commanded it to be purchased and presented to the British Museum. The collection comprises upwards of thirty thousand articles bound in two thousand volumes. Most of these tracts are now become extremely scarce, and many of them are probably the only remaining copies.

The British Museum, which, in its aggregate, and considering the number of objects it embraces, has scarcely any rival, is committed to the care of forty-three trustees, with paramount authority over the whole establishment, concerning which they, from time to time, lay before parliament statements of their accounts and various proceedings. The library is under the control of one principal librarian, four under and four assistant librarians, by whom every facility is afforded to men of letters and artists in the prosecution of their studies and labours. For this purpose a commodious reading room has been appropriated; it is open every day, with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays, fast and thanksgiving days. Persons, not wholly strangers, are freely admitted, and there readily supplied with whatever books or manuscripts they may desire to consult; as also with such productions of art or nature, of which they may wish to have a closer inspection than can be had in the cursory inspection allowed to ordinary visitors. The various catalogues, with their manuscript additions, furnish every facility which can be reasonably desired: and when the late Sir Joseph Banks's library, conspicuous for its treasures in the natural sciences, shall be added to this Museum pursuant to his bequest, a general classed catalogue of all its literary treasures will only be wanting to render it the first public library in Europe.

Concerning the number of volumes which the other libraries of London are reputed to contain, we have not been able to

procure accurate returns; but we believe we are not very incorrect in stating them at considerably more than half a million of volumes. The libraries alluded to are those of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, of the four inns of Court, of Sion College and St. Martin's, of the Hon. East India Company, of the London Medical Society, of the Royal, London, Surrey, and Russell Institutions. Of most of these libraries catalogues are extant; and though some of them may appear to be appropriated to peculiar professions, no man of literature and of science, properly introduced, is denied the free use of their treasures. The libraries of the different literary institutions are general. In the departments of topography, classical literature, mathematics, and history, the library of the London Institution (whose printed catalogue is alphabetical) is singularly rich. The library of the Royal Institution contains the best and most useful edition of *every* classic author, with the best translations in English, and some in other modern languages. The classical part of the catalogue was drawn up by the late Dr. Charles Burney. The mathematical class, in all its branches, is very full, and the collection comprises the best scientific journals and transactions of learned and philosophical societies.

We cannot conclude this article without noticing the generally excellent arrangement of the catalogue of this library: in one or two instances we think its subdivisions might be altered for the better; but altogether we have seen no printed catalogue more worthy of being adopted as a pattern for the arrangement of a numerous library.

ART. XXII.—*Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.* Taylor and Hessey. London, 1822.

A BRAIN morbidly affected by long excess of indulgence in opium cannot reasonably be expected to display a very consistent or connected series of thoughts and impressions. The work before us is accordingly a performance without any intelligible drift or design. It is, however, a sort of kaleidoscope, presenting to the eye a great variety of dazzling forms and colours, symmetrically and harmoniously disposed and blended, and yet expressing nothing, and resembling nothing. It is not easy to say what the author intends by his book, except its sale and circulation; whether he means what he says, or if not all, how much; whether he is serious, and if not always.

when ; whether he designs to deal in fact, or in fiction ; whether he intends to praise, or to ridicule ; to reverence, or to scoff ; to laugh, or to cry ; whether he is learned or unlearned ; gloomy, or gay ; busy, or idle ; married, or single. After all, however, the scene spread before us is a very elegant tissue of confusion, a rich piece of mosaic, on which the eye of fancy, if not of intelligence, reposes with delight ; and upon the whole without much danger ; though we cannot say more for its morality, than that where it is lax or indecorous, it seems to be rather the effect of absence of thought, than want of principle.

Desultory and rambling as the thoughts of the opium-eater must be admitted to be, there is much evidence, throughout the volume, of a great kindness of disposition, and of what we should call good-heartedness ; and he must be but little alive to the impressions of genuine humour, who does not often, in going through the work, feel its subtle agency upon his spirits, provoking him to laugh, without knowing why or at what. There are also touches of pathos in these pages which show the author to be no stranger to the avenues that conduct to the interior of the bosom. Whether we are to attribute it to his opium, or to faculties original and improved which opium has not been able to overcome, we pretend not to say ; but it is evident that the writer of this little book rules despotically an imaginative empire ; which he can at any time lay under the largest contribution to his wants. If his opium is to have the credit of all this, and the sublime pictures of ideal combinations which have been drawn upon his fancy, and engraved upon his pages, are the literal products of his dreams while under the fascination of his celestial drug, we must take the account as altogether the most extraordinary testimony to its power over the subtle organization of man, that has hitherto been authenticated ; and that the author was well warranted in saying that opium, and not the opium-eater, is the hero of the tale.

The youthful adventures of the opium-eater, his running away from school with ten pounds in his pocket, his wandering in North Wales, his subsistence upon hips and haws and berries, his long period of semi-starvation in London, his houseless state, his nightly wanderings, his ambulatory acquaintance among a description of persons of which, for any connexion it had with his opium phenomena, he might as well have suppressed, but in which he seems, by some opium perversion of sentiment, rather to glory,—all these particulars we shall pass over, after observing only, that incorrect and improper as the details last alluded to undoubtedly are, his intercourse with,



and separation from, a young woman of the class of street-walkers, are wrought up, or incidentally touched, with too free a pencil certainly, but with most commanding pathos. It must be confessed, indeed, that this incident, besides giving something of a dramatic interest to the opium-eater's narrative, helps to form a feature in one of his dreams of extraordinary force, and we were going to say of felicity; but oh no, it is a feature so full of wild and mysterious melancholy, and so powerfully sketched, that it was long ere we could recover from the thrall-dom into which it threw us.

There are a sort of men, not of uncommon occurrence in this our day, who, by some solecism in their composition, possess the art of exciting the feelings of others to the highest pitch, without the smallest sensibility to the same impressions themselves. It is an indescribable fact; and, reasoning analogically, we should say that this power was incapable of existence but in a bosom of sympathy; but experience overturns this plausible theory. There are poets, and musicians, and fabricators of stories, who have, as it were, the master key that opens the recesses of the heart, and have the fullest cognisance of all the turnings and windings through which the deepest chambers are to be penetrated, without deriving any part of this knowledge from comparisons with their own experiences, or any correspondent consciousness within themselves. They are like those bodies which are capable of exhibiting all the phenomena of electricity, while they themselves are impervious to its power. We are sure that every reader will make the application of this remark to instances within his own knowledge. We trust, however, that this is not the case with the spirited writer of this little book; but it is worthy of observation that occasionally in the midst of some particulars which have touched us very sensibly, he goes off into something that makes us suspect he is not in earnest, or has no feelings in harmony with his own descriptions. Thus where he tells us of his parting with, and losing for ever, his poor Ann (being never able to find her again, but in one of his morbid day-dreams), the preserver of his life, and which parting, in very few words, he has made very affecting, he adds a note about the superiority of the Bristol Mail, in which he was about to set out, over all other coaches.

The injured condition of the author's stomach, from the long fasting he had been under the necessity of frequently submitting to, while in his truant state, a forlorn wanderer about London streets, occasions his first resort to opium as a remedy. In the paroxysm of a complaint arising from sudden cold, opium is recommended to him by a college acquaintance, whom he acci-

dentally meets. He repairs to a druggist near the Pantheon, in Oxford-street, and it is thus that he narrates his first acquaintance with the virtues of this potent drug :

“ When I asked for the tincture of opium, he gave it to me as any other man might do : and furthermore, out of my shilling, returned me what seemed to be real copper halfpence, taken out of a real wooden drawer. Nevertheless, in spite of such indications of humanity, he has ever since existed in my mind as the beatific vision of an immortal druggist, sent down to earth on a special mission to myself. And it confirms me in this way of considering him, that, when I next came up to London, I sought him near the stately Pantheon, and found him not : and thus to me, who knew not his name (if indeed he had one) he seemed rather to have vanished from Oxford-street than to have removed in any bodily fashion. The reader may choose to think of him as, possibly, no more than a sublunary druggist : it may be so : but my faith is better : I believe him to have evanesced, or evaporated. So unwillingly would I connect any mortal remembrances with that hour, and place, and creature, that first brought me acquainted with the celestial drug.

“ Arrived at my lodgings, it may be supposed that I lost not a moment in taking the quantity prescribed. I was necessarily ignorant of the whole art and mystery of opium-taking : and, what I took, I took under every disadvantage. But I took it :—and in an hour, oh ! heavens ! what a revulsion ! what an upheaving, from its lowest depths, of the inner spirit ! what an apocalypse of the world within me ! That my pains had vanished, was now a trifle in my eyes :—this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me—in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea—a *φάρμακον ὑψηπνέες* for all human woes : here was the secret of happiness, about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages, at once discovered : happiness might now be bought for a penny, and carried in the waistcoat pocket : portable ecstasies might be had corked up in a pint bottle : and peace of mind could be sent down in gallons by the mail coach. But, if I talk in this way, the reader will think I am laughing : and I can assure him, that nobody will laugh long who deals much with opium : its pleasures even are of a grave and solemn complexion : and in his happiest state, the opium-eater cannot present himself in the character of *l'Allegro* : even then, he speaks and thinks as becomes *Il Penseroso*. Nevertheless, I have a very reprehensible way of jesting at times in the midst of my own misery : and, unless when I am checked by some more powerful feelings, I am afraid I shall be guilty of this indecent practice even in these annals of suffering or enjoyment. The reader must allow a little to my infirm nature in this respect : and with a few indulgencies of that sort, I shall endeavour to be as grave, if not drowsy, as fits a theme like opium, so anti-mercurial as it really is, and so drowsy as it is falsely reputed.”—(P. 88, 91.)

Our author's first eight years of experience in opium, from

1804 to 1812, are described as evincing in the most extraordinary manner its power of opening all the sources of mental delight. The succeeding years illustrate the distressing phenomena which take place after the constitution gives way to the increasing quantity and the long-continued action of this powerful drug. We will first present to the reader the lively portraiture which our author gives us of the difference in character and appearance between the exhilaration produced by wine and by opium :

“ The pleasure given by wine is always mounting, and tending to a crisis, after which it declines : that from opium, when once generated, is stationary for eight or ten hours : the first, to borrow a technical distinction from medicine, is a case of acute—the second, of chronic pleasure : the one is a flame, the other a steady and equable glow. But the main distinction lies in this, that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self-possession : opium greatly invigorates it. Wine unsettles and clouds the judgment, and gives a preternatural brightness, and a vivid exaltation to the contempts and the admirations, the loves and the hatreds, of the drinker : opium, on the contrary, communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive ; and with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgment, and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval or antediluvian health. Thus, for instance, opium, like wine, gives an expansion to the heart and the benevolent affections ; but then, with this remarkable difference, that in the sudden development of kind-heartedness which accompanies inebriation, there is always more or less of a maudlin character which exposes it to the contempt of the by-stander. Men shake hands, swear eternal friendship, and shed tears—no mortal knows why : and the sensual creature is clearly uppermost. But the expansion of the benigner feelings, incident to opium, is no feeble access, but a healthy restoration to that state which the mind would naturally recover upon the removal of any deep-seated irritation of pain that had disturbed and quarrelled with the impulses of a heart originally just and good. True it is, that even wine, up to a certain point, and with certain men, rather tends to exalt and to steady the intellect : I myself, who have never been a great wine-drinker, used to find that half a dozen glasses of wine advantageously affected the faculties—brightened and intensified the consciousness—and gave to the mind a feeling of being “ *ponderibus librata suis* : ” and certainly it is most absurdly said, in popular language, of any man, that he is *disguised* in liquor : for, on the contrary, most men are disguised by sobriety ; and it is when they are drinking (as some old gentleman says in *Athenus*), that *μεν εαυτους εμφανιζουσιν αιτινες εις*—display themselves in their true complexion of character ; which surely is not disguising

themselves. But still, wine constantly leads a man to the brink of absurdity and extravagance; and, beyond a certain point, it is sure to volatilize and to disperse the intellectual energies; whereas opium always seems to compose what had been agitated, and to concentrate what had been distracted. In short, to sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated, or tending to inebriation, is, and feels that he is, in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human, too often the brutal, part of his nature: but the opium-eater (I speak of him who is not suffering from any disease, or other remote effects of opium,) feels that the diviner part of his nature is paramount; that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity; and over all is the great light of the majestic intellect." (P. 94—97.)

We do not believe there are many persons disposed to acquiesce in the justness of this panegyric on opium. Nor do we discover any foundation for the surmise of the author, that the resort to opium, for the sake of the pleasurable sensations it is supposed capable of conveying, is becoming common. In the far greater number of persons who have tried its effects, we believe it has been found to deteriorate altogether the state of body and mind, except in the cases where its relaxing and sedative properties have given it incalculable importance as an anti-spasmodic, for reducing nervous and fibrous energy, and for other specific and medicinal purposes.

The period of painful feelings and mental horrors begins in 1812, when the daily taking of opium commences with our author. To his moderate and temperate use of the article for the eight years preceding that of 1812, he ascribes his ignorance at that time "of the avenging terrors which opium has in store for those who abuse its lenity." For the above-mentioned period of eight years he describes himself as having been a dilettante eater of opium, never allowing it to become an article of absolute necessity, and observing proper distances between each indulgence. But towards the end of the year 1812, or the beginning of 1813, some melancholy event, which he does not explain, having greatly depressed and disquieted his mind, he made opium an article of daily diet. So regular and confirmed an opium-eater was our author now become, that, as he states of himself in his usual emphatic language, "to ask whether on any particular day he had or had not taken opium, would be to ask whether his lungs had performed respiration, or the heart fulfilled its functions." From this time opium is no longer designated by the phrase "celestial drug," but by that of the "pernicious drug." It was not, however, till this daily debauch in opium had continued for some time, that his sufferings attained their acme. And before this crisis he speaks of an intercalary year of pleasure, parenthetically interposed between his other years of mental agony. The date and dura-

tion of this interval of felicity, which he loosely sets down as a year, are not very accurately ascertained, but it should seem to have been about 1816-17, and to have owed its distinction and privilege to the reduction in the quantity of opium for some reason or other taken at this period;—from eight thousand to one thousand drops per diem.

During this happy season he informs us, that “the cloud of profoundest melancholy which rested upon his brain like black vapours rolling away from the summits of the mountains,” drew off in one day. He was again happy, and during this state of composure he receives a visit from a Malay, who he conjectures was on his route to a seaport about 40 miles from his residence. The Malay is suffered to refresh himself by lying down for about an hour on the floor, and on his departure he is presented with a piece of opium, enough in quantity, says our opium-eater, to have killed three dragoons and their horses, which he bolts down at one mouthful. He never heard that the Malay was found dead, and therefore concluded he must have been used to opium. The mention of this incident is no otherwise important than as it added a phantom of horror to the day-dreams by which he was afterwards so fiercely and perpetually visited. As he declares this insulated period of enjoyment to have been the happiest of his life, he has thought it right to favour his readers with what he calls an analysis of happiness. His account of the matter is epicurean enough; and he might have learned from Kant, the philosopher, whom he states himself to have read most attentively during this interval, that if all having the same right with himself had resolved to live in the same way, society would soon have been transformed into a swinish multitude. Whether the author is delivering his real opinions we do not know, but his description is bright and fanciful; and in many parts relieved with touches of peculiar vivacity and humour:

“I will here lay down an analysis of happiness; and as the most interesting mode of communicating it, I will give it, not didactically, but wrapt up and involved in a picture of one evening, as I spent every evening during the intercalary year when laudanum, though taken daily, was to me no more than the elixir of pleasure. This done, I shall quit the subject of happiness altogether, and pass to a very different one—the *pains of opium*.”

“Let there be a cottage, standing in a valley, eighteen miles from any town—no spacious valley, but about two miles long, by three quarters of a mile in average width; the benefit of which provision is, that all the families resident within its circuit will compose, as it were, one larger household personally familiar to your eye, and more or less interesting to your affections. Let the mountains be real mountains, between three and four thousand feet high; and the cottage, a real

cottage; not (as a witty author has it) 'a cottage with a double coach-house:' let it be, in fact (for I must abide by the actual scene), a white cottage, embowered with flowering shrubs, so chosen as to unfold a succession of flowers upon the walls, and clustering round the windows through all the months of spring, summer, and autumn—beginning, in fact, with May roses, and ending with jasmine. Let it, however, *not* be spring, nor summer, nor autumn—but winter, in his sternest shape. This is a most important point in the science of happiness. And I am surprised to see people overlook it, and think it matter of congratulation that winter is going; or, if coming, is not likely to be a severe one. On the contrary, I put up a petition annually, for as much snow, hail, frost, or storm, of one kind or other, as the skies can possibly afford us. Surely every body is aware of the divine pleasures which attend a winter fire-side: candles at four o'clock, warm hearth-rugs, tea, a fair tea-maker, shutters closed, curtains flowing in ample draperies on the floor, whilst the wind and rain are raging audibly without,

And at the doors and windows seem to call,  
As heav'n and earth they would together melt;  
Yet the least entrance find they none at all;  
Whence sweeter grows our rest secure in massy hall.

(*Castle of Indolence.*)

"All these are items in the description of a winter evening, which must surely be familiar to every body born in a high latitude. And it is evident, that most of these delicacies, like ice-cream, require a very low temperature of the atmosphere to produce them: they are fruits which cannot be ripened without weather stormy or inclement, in some way or other. I am not '*particular*,' as people say, whether it be snow, or black frost, or wind so strong, that (as Mr. — says) 'you may lean your back against it like a post.' I can put up even with rain, provided it rains cats and dogs: but something of the sort I must have: and, if I have it not, I think myself in a manner ill-used: for why am I called on to pay so heavily for winter, in coals, and candles, and various privations that will occur even to gentlemen, if I am not to have the article good of its kind? No: a Canadian winter for my money: or a Russian one, where every man is but a co-proprietor with the north wind in the fee-simple of his own ears. Indeed, so great an epicure am I in this matter, that I cannot relish a winter night fully if it be much past St. Thomas's day, and have degenerated into disgusting tendencies to vernal appearances: no: it must be divided by a thick wall of dark nights from all return of light and sunshine.—From the latter weeks of October to Christmas-eve, therefore, is the period during which happiness is in season, which, in my judgment, enters the room with the tea-tray: for tea, though ridiculed by those who are naturally of coarse nerves, or are become so from wine-drinking, and are not susceptible of influence from so refined a stimulant, will always be the favourite beverage of the intellectual: and, for my part, I would have joined Dr. Johnson in a *bellum internecinum* against Jonas Hanway, or any other impious person, who should pre-

sume to disparage it.—But here, to save myself the trouble of too much verbal description, I will introduce a painter: and give him directions for the rest of the picture. Painters do not like white cottages, unless a good deal weather-stained: but as the reader now understands that it is a winter night, his services will not be required, except for the inside of the house.

“Paint me, then, a room seventeen feet by twelve, and not more than seven and a half feet high. This, reader, is somewhat ambitiously styled, in my family, the drawing-room: but, being contrived ‘a double debt to pay,’ it is also, and more justly, termed the library; for it happens that books are the only article of property in which I am richer than my neighbours. Of these, I have about five thousand, collected gradually since my eighteenth year. Therefore, painter, put as many as you can into this room. Make it populous with books: and, furthermore, paint me a good fire; and furniture, plain and modest, befitting the unpretending cottage of a scholar. And, near the fire, paint me a tea-table; and (as it is clear that no creature can come to see one such a stormy night,) place only two cups and saucers on the tea-tray: and, if you know how to paint such a thing symbolically, or otherwise, paint me an eternal teapot—eternal *à parte ante*, and *à parte post*; for I usually drink tea from eight o’clock at night to four o’clock in the morning. And, as it is very unpleasant to make tea, or to pour it out for oneself, paint me a lovely young woman, sitting at the table. Paint her arms like Aurora’s, and her smiles like Hebe’s:—But no, dear M., not even in jest let me insinuate that thy power to illuminate my cottage rests upon a tenure so perishable as mere personal beauty; or that the witchcraft of angelic smiles lies within the empire of any earthly pencil. Pass, then, my good painter, to something more within its power: and the next article brought forward should naturally be myself—a picture of the Opium-eater, with his ‘little golden receptacle of the pernicious drug,’ lying beside him on the table. As to the opium, I have no objection to see a picture of *that*, though I would rather see the original: you may paint it, if you choose; but I apprise you, that no ‘little’ receptacle would, even in 1816, answer *my* purpose, who was at a distance from the ‘stately Pantheon,’ and all druggists (mortal or otherwise). No; you may as well paint the real receptacle, which was not of gold, but of glass, and as much like a wine-decanter as possible. Into this you may put a quart of ruby-coloured laudanum: that, and a book of German metaphysics placed by its side, will sufficiently attest my being in the neighbourhood; but, as to myself,—there I demur. I admit that, naturally, I ought to occupy the foreground of the picture; that, being the hero of the piece, or (if you choose) the criminal at the bar, my body should be had into court. This seems reasonable: but why should I confess, on this point, to a painter? or why confess at all? If the public (into whose private ear I am confidentially whispering my confessions, and not into any painter’s) should chance to have framed some agreeable picture for itself, of the Opium-eater’s exterior,—should have ascribed to him, romantically, an elegant person, or a handsome face, why

should I barbarously tear from it so pleasing a delusion—pleasing both to the public and to me? No : paint me, if at all, according to your own fancy : and, as a painter's fancy should teem with beautiful creations, I cannot fail, in that way, to be a gainer. And now, reader, we have run through all the ten categories of my condition, as it stood about 1816-17 : up to the middle of which latter year I judge myself to have been a happy man : and the elements of that happiness I have endeavoured to place before you, in the above sketch of the interior of a scholar's library, in a cottage among the mountains, on a stormy winter evening." (P. 135—142.)

Now the pains of opium set in for a continuance ; and, whether in jest or earnest (perhaps partly in the one, partly in the other), he recounts the terrible and appalling spectacles which haunt his imagination, and compose the pageantry of his day-dreams and nightly slumbers, with admirable pathos and command of language. He thus opens to us his world of phantasms.

"The first notice I had of any important change going on in this part of my physical economy, was from the re-awakening of a state of eye generally incident to childhood, or exalted states of irritability. I know not whether my reader is aware that many children, perhaps most, have a power of painting, as it were, upon the darkness, all sorts of phantoms ; in some that power is simply a mechanic affection of the eye ; others have a voluntary, or a semi-voluntary power to dismiss or to summon them ; or, as a child once said to me when I questioned him on this matter, 'I can tell them to go, and they go ; but sometimes they come, when I don't tell them to come.' Whereupon I told him that he had almost as unlimited a command over apparitions, as a Roman centurion over his soldiers.—In the middle of 1817, I think it was, that this faculty became positively distressing to me : at night, when I lay awake in bed, vast processions passed along in mournful pomp ; friezes of never-ending stories, that to my feelings were as sad and solemn as if they were stories drawn from times before (Edipus or Priam—before Tyre—before Memphis. And at the same time a corresponding change took place in my dreams ; a theatre seemed suddenly opened and lighted up within my brain, which presented nightly spectacles of more than earthly splendour. And the four following facts may be mentioned, as noticeable at this time :

"1. That, as the creative state of the eye increased, a sympathy seemed to arise between the waking and the dreaming states of the brain in one point—that whatsoever I happened to call up and to trace by a voluntary act upon the darkness was very apt to transfer itself to my dreams ; so that I feared to exercise this faculty ; for, as Midas turned all things to gold, that yet baffled his hopes and defrauded his human desires, so whatsoever things capable of being visually represented I did but think of in the darkness, immediately shaped themselves into phantoms of the eye ; and, by a process apparently no less inevitable, when thus once traced in faint and visionary colours, like writings in sympathetic ink, they were drawn out by the



fierce chemistry of my dreams, into insufferable splendour that fretted my heart.

"2. For this, and all other changes in my dreams, were accompanied by deep-seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy, such as are wholly incommunicable by words. I seemed every night to descend, not metaphorically, but literally to descend, into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever reascend. Nor did I, by waking, feel that I *had* reascended. This I do not dwell upon; because the state of gloom which attended these gorgeous spectacles, amounting at least to utter darkness, as of some suicidal despondency, cannot be approached by words.

"3. The sense of space, and in the end, the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c. were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This, however, did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time; I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millennium passed in that time, or, however, of a duration far beyond the limits of any human experience.

"4. The minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years, were often revived: I could not be said to recollect them; for if I had been told of them when waking, I should not have been able to acknowledge them as parts of my past experience. But placed as they were before me, in dreams like intuitions, and clothed in all their evanescent circumstances and accompanying feelings, I *recognised* them instantaneously." (P. 156—159.)

After thus defining and distributing into classes the particular characteristics by which these morbid dreams, produced by a diseased state of the organs, were distinguished from the dreams of health, he proceeds to specify certain cases illustrative of the statement above extracted.

"I had been in youth, and even since, for occasional amusement, a great reader of Livy, whom, I confess, that I prefer, both for style and matter, to any other of the Roman historians; and I had often felt as most solemn and appalling sounds, and most emphatically representative of the majesty of the Roman people, the two words so often occurring in Livy—*Consul Romanus*; especially when the consul is introduced in his military character. I mean to say, that the words king—sultan—regent, &c. or any other titles of those who embody in their own persons the collective majesty of a great people, had less power over my reverential feelings. I had also, though no great reader of history, made myself minutely and critically familiar with one period of English history, viz. the period of the Parliamentary War, having been attracted by the moral grandeur of some who figured in that day, and by the many interesting memoirs which survive those unquiet times. Both these parts of my lighter reading, having furnished me often with matter of reflection, now furnished me

with matter for my dreams. Often I used to see, after painting upon the blank darkness a sort of rehearsal whilst waking, a crowd of ladies, and perhaps a festival, and dances. And I heard it said, or I said to myself, 'These are English ladies from the unhappy times of Charles I. These are the wives and the daughters of those who met in peace, and sat at the same tables, and were allied by marriage or by blood; and yet, after a certain day in August, 1642, never smiled upon each other again, nor met but in the field of battle; and at Marston Moor, at Newbury, or at Naseby, cut asunder all ties of love by the cruel sabre, and washed away in blood the memory of ancient friendship.'—The ladies danced, and looked as lovely as the court of George IV. Yet I knew, even in my dream, that they had been in the grave for nearly two centuries.—This pageant would suddenly dissolve: and, at a clapping of hands, would be heard the heart-quaking sound of *Consul Romanus*: and immediately came 'sweeping by,' in gorgeous paludaments, Paulus or Marius, girt round by a company of centurions, with the crimson tunic hoisted on a spear, and followed by the *alalagmos* of the Roman Legions." (P. 161—163.)

He observes that in the early stage of his malady, his dreams had dealt much in architectural scenery, proceeding before his imagination in an endless growth and re-production, with "such pomp of cities and palaces as was never yet beheld by the waking eye, unless in the clouds." To his architecture succeeded dreams of silvery expanses of water. These haunted him so much that he began to fear that some dropsical state or tendency of the brain might thus be making itself objective, and that the sentient organ might be projecting itself as its own object. The waters now changed their character; from translucent lakes, shining like mirrors, they now became seas and oceans.

"And now came a tremendous change, which, unfolding itself slowly like a scroll, through many months, promised an abiding torment; and, in fact, it never left me until the winding up of my case. Hitherto the human face had mixed often in my dreams, but not despotically, nor with any special power of tormenting. But now that which I have called the tyranny of the human face began to unfold itself. Perhaps some part of my London life might be answerable for this. Be that as it may, now it was that upon the rocking waters of the ocean the human face began to appear: the sea appeared paved with innumerable faces, upturned to the heavens: faces, imploring, wrathful, despairing, surged upwards by thousands, by myriads, by generations, by centuries,—my agitation was infinite,—my mind tossed—and surged with the ocean." (P. 167.)

The Malay now begins to make a conspicuous figure on the canvass. The associations connected with this personage transport the unhappy opium-eater to the shores and heart of Asia; and here we have a most picturesque display of oriental grandeur and terror. After giving certain reasons for his antipa-

thics with respect to the characters and habits of that distant world, he proceeds :

" All this, and much more than I can say, or have time to say, the reader must enter into before he can comprehend the unimaginable horror which these dreams of Oriental imagery, and mythological tortures, impressed upon me. Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat and vertical sun-lights, I brought together all creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances, that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China or Indostan. From kindred feelings I soon brought Egypt and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by paroquets, by cockatoos. I ran into pagodas : and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms ; I was the idol ; I was the priest ; I was worshipped ; I was sacrificed. I fled from the wrath of Brama through all the forests of Asia : Vishnu hated me ! Seeva laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris : I had done a deed, they said, which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried, for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed, with cancerous kisses, by crocodiles ; and laid confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud.

" I thus give the reader some slight abstraction of my Oriental dreams, which always filled me with such amazement at the monstrous scenery, that horror seemed absorbed for a while, in sheer astonishment. Sooner or later, came a reflux of feeling that swallowed up the astonishment, and left me not so much in terror, as in hatred and abomination of what I saw. Over every form, and threat, and punishment, and dim sightless incarceration, brooded a sense of eternity and infinity that drove me into an oppression as of madness. Into these dreams only, it was, with one or two slight exceptions, that any circumstances of physical horror entered. All before had been moral and spiritual terrors. But here the main agents were ugly birds, or snakes, or crocodiles ; especially the last. The cursed crocodile became to me the object of more horror than almost all the rest. I was compelled to live with him ; and (as was always the case almost in my dreams) for centuries. I escaped sometimes, and found myself in Chinese houses, with cane tables, &c. All the feet of the tables, sofas, &c. soon became instinct with life : the abominable head of the crocodile, and his leering eyes, looked out at me, multiplied into a thousand repetitions ; and I stood loathing and fascinated. And so often did this hideous reptile haunt my dreams, that many times the very same dream was broken up in the very same way : I heard gentle voices speaking to me (I hear every thing when I am sleeping) ; and instantly I awoke : it was broad noon ; and my children were standing, hand in hand, at my bed-side : come to show me their coloured shoes, or new frocks, or to let me see them dressed for going out. I protest that so awful was the transition from the damned crocodile, and the other unutterable monsters and abortions of my dreams, to the sight of innocent human natures and of infancy, that in the mighty and

sudden revulsion of mind, I wept and could not forbear it, as I kissed their faces." (P. 169—172.)

We will finish with two extracts, in each of which there is great grandeur of thought, expression, and imagery, and a character of awful melancholy. But whether the representations have been fabricated as specimens of what the writer supposes may be the progeny of a diseased and teeming fancy, or were really furnished by his own dreaming experiences, is to us not absolutely clear.

"I thought that it was a Sunday morning in May, that it was Easter Sunday, and as yet very early in the morning. I was standing, as it seemed to me, at the door of my own cottage. Right before me lay the very scene which could really be commanded from that situation, but exalted, as was usual, and solemnized by the power of dreams. There were the same mountains, and the same lovely valley at their feet; but the mountains were raised to more than Alpine height, and there was interspace far larger between them of meadows and forest lawns; the hedges were rich with white roses; and no living creature was to be seen, excepting that in the green church-yard there were cattle tranquilly reposing upon the verdant graves, and particularly round about the grave of a child whom I had tenderly loved, just as I had really beheld them, a little before sun-rise in the same summer, when that child died. I gazed upon the well-known scene, and I said aloud (as I thought) to myself, 'It yet wants much of sunrise; and that is Easter Sunday; and that is the day on which they celebrate the first-fruits of resurrection. I will walk abroad; old griefs shall be forgotten to day; for the air is cool and still, and the hills are high, and stretch away to heaven; and the forest-glades are as quiet as the church-yard; and, with the dew, I can wash the fever from my forehead, and then I shall be unhappy no longer.' And I turned, as if to open my garden-gate; and immediately I saw upon the left a scene far different; but which yet the power of dreams had reconciled into harmony with the other. The scene was an Oriental one; and there also it was Easter Sunday, and very early in the morning. And at a vast distance were visible, as a stain upon the horizon, the domes and cupolas of a great city—an image or faint abstraction, caught perhaps in childhood from some picture of Jerusalem. And not a bow-shot from me, upon a stone, and shaded by Judean palms, there sat a woman; and I looked; and it was—Ann! She fixed her eyes upon me earnestly; and I said to her at length: 'So then I have found you at last.' I waited; but she answered me not a word. Her face was the same as when I saw it last, and yet again how different! Seventeen years ago, when the lamp-light fell upon her face, as for the last time I kissed her lips (lips, Ann, that to me were not polluted), her eyes were streaming with tears; the tears were now wiped away; she seemed more beautiful than she was at that time, but in all other points the same, and not older. Her looks were tranquil, but with unusual solemnity of expression; and I now gazed upon her with some awe, but suddenly her countenance grew dim, and turning to the mountains,

I perceived vapours rolling between us; in a moment all had vanished; thick darkness came on; and, in the twinkling of an eye, I was far away from mountains, and by lamp-light in Oxford-street, walking again with Ann—just as we walked seventeen years before, when we were both children.” (P. 174—177.)

Once more, and then we shake hands with our opium-eater, almost sorry that his divorce from opium has terminated his dreams.

“As a final specimen, I cite one of a different character, from 1820. The dream commenced with a music which now I often heard in dreams—a music of preparation and of awakening suspense; a music like the opening of the Coronation Anthem, and which, like *that*, gave the feeling of a vast march—of infinite *cavalcades* filing off—and the tread of innumerable armies. The morning was come of a mighty day—a day of crisis and of final hope for human nature, then suffering some mysterious eclipse, and labouring in some dread extremity. Somewhere, I knew not where—somehow, I knew not how—by some beings I knew not whom—a battle, a strife, an agony was conducting,—was evolving like a great drama, or piece of music; with which my sympathy was the more insupportable from my confusion as to its place, its cause, its nature, and its possible issue. I, as is usual in dreams (where, of necessity, we make ourselves central to every movement), had the power, and yet had not the power, to decide it. I had the power, if I could raise myself, to will it; and yet again had not the power, for the weight of twenty Atlantics was upon me, or the oppression of inexpressible guilt, ‘Deeper than ever plummet sounded,’ I lay inactive. Then like a chorus, the passion deepened. Some greater interest was at stake; some mightier cause than ever yet the sword had pleaded, or trumpet had proclaimed. Then came sudden alarms: hurrys to and fro: trepidations of innumerable fugitives, I knew not whether from the good cause or the bad: darkness and lights: tempest and human faces: and at last, with the sense that all was lost, female forms, and the features that were worth all the world to me, and but a moment allowed,—and clasped hands, and heart-breaking partings, and then—everlasting farewells! and with a sigh, such as the caves of hell sighed when the incestuous mother uttered the abhorred name of death, the sound was reverberated—everlasting farewells! and again, and yet again reverberated—everlasting farewells!” (P. 177—179.)

No book, we will venture to say, has ever so energetically depicted the pleasures and pains of opium. The balance is certainly very much on the side of the pains, looking only to its influence on the mind. The effects of this baneful drug, however, on the body, when taken for any but pure medicinal purposes, under the controul and discretion of professional experience, are exhibited in sundry forms of disease, in squalid enervation, and in accelerated old age. We trust our author has had enough of it; and as he probably has done dreaming, except according to the usage of his ancestors, we may hope

for some useful products of his intelligent and active mind, without any thing of Messrs. Kant or Ricardo mingled in their substance ; who, as they have been the companions of his morbid existence, may not safely be associated with his sound waking, and sober creations. If he can resolve to turn his future thoughts to what is useful, in this age of abused intellect, we heartily wish him long to live in all “ the sober certainty of waking bliss.”

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